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Karpov Interviewed on Geneva Arms Talks

LD1406133188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
14 Jun 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with V.P. Karpov, head of the Soviet delegation at the Geneva talks on nuclear and space arms, by own correspondent A. Shalnev under the rubric "IZVESTIYA Interview": "V. Karpov: United States Is Not Yet Ready"; date of interview not given—first paragraph is IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] New York—If Washington made the appropriate political decision, the problems currently holding up the formulation of the treaty on a 50-percent cut in strategic nuclear arms could be settled. However, the United States is not yet ready to make such a decision. This is the opinion of V.P. Karpov, chief of a USSR Foreign Ministry Administration and head of the Soviet delegation at the Geneva talks on nuclear and space arms. I talked with him during a recess at the third UN General Assembly special session on disarmament. [Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian on 15 June 1988 in its morning edition, page 5, publishes the following unattributed "correction": "The introduction to the interview 'United States Is Not Yet Ready' published on page 5 of IZVESTIYA No 166 should read: 'This is the opinion of V.P. Karpov, chief of a USSR Foreign Ministry administration and head of the Soviet delegation at the Geneva talks on nuclear and space arms in 1985-1986.' The Soviet delegation at the Geneva talks is currently headed by A.A. Obukhov, ambassador for special assignments."]

[Shalnev] How realistic is the prospect of a new agreement being concluded before the end of the current President's term of office?

[Karpov] President Reagan has said since his return from Moscow that he is prepared to have another summit if such a possibility arises. We are also prepared, provided there is an agreement. In the United States itself, the situation is nonetheless uncertain. There is no certainty that the administration is now capable of adopting a definitive decision on a particular course of action—whether to conclude an agreement or not. Clearly, the decision will be made in light of the further development of the election campaign. If it looks as though the Democrats are going to win the election, Reagan's freedom of action is narrowed, as it were: He will have to weigh up how the Democrats will view the treaty he has signed. If the scales tilt in favor of Bush, there could well be more vigorous action from the President—to support his successor.

[Shalnev] May we not see the following scenario: The President will do everything he can to ensure that Bush wins, and as one step toward ensuring such a victory, he will conclude a new agreement with the Soviet Union?

[Karpov] This also sounds logical, although it cannot be ruled out that it would be difficult to do this. Why? Because the President's decision could be seen as a desperate gesture, as purely an election ploy, with all the ensuing consequences, namely: An entirely unnecessary political struggle might break out around this very important and serious cause. This is a factor we must bear in mind.

[Shalnev] What are the technical difficulties regarding the conclusion of a treaty? How great are they, and to what extent are they surmountable in the time that remains before Reagan's departure from the White House?

[Karpov] Difficulties exist. Many, it is true, were resolved during the talks. However, two major groups of problems remain. The first is observance of the ABM Treaty. Agreement in principle was reached on this issue during the Washington summit, but this agreement must be expressed juridically, in treaty form. However, we seem unable to resolve this with the Americans, although Secretary of State Shultz has promised more than once during his meetings with E.A. Shevardnadze that this would be done. However, at delegation level in Geneva, the U.S. side is working in a diametrically opposed direction.

This is the most problematic question for the United States: If an agreement is signed, it will in practice be necessary to renounce SDI in the form in which it was proposed by the President in March 1983. However, the President cannot officially renounce SDI since his political reputation rides on this program. The Americans obviously do not yet know how to get out of this situation, although, in my opinion, there is a way out. It lies in the observance of the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed and ratified in 1972.

The second group of problems concerns air- and sea-launched cruise missiles. Neither the Americans nor we have any doubts about the need to limit cruise missiles. But how are they to be limited? The Americans have far more strategic bombers than we have. The Americans would like to exclude a number of these bombers—between 200 and 300, according to some estimates—from the framework of the restrictions and equip them with formally non-nuclear long-range cruise missiles. Each such aircraft can be equipped with 10-20 cruise missiles. Technology is improving, and the replacement of non-nuclear equipment with nuclear equipment or vice versa will probably not represent a major task in the future. The Soviet side believes that any bomber, irrespective of whether it is equipped with nuclear or conventional missiles, should be included in the 1,600 delivery vehicles for strategic nuclear charges which the United States and the Soviet Union would be allowed to have under the treaty. Our position is this: If a bomber is equipped with long-range nuclear cruise missiles then, first, the bomber must be included in the 1,600 delivery vehicles, and, second, each missile must be included in the 6,000 nuclear charges which each side would be allowed to have. When it comes to cruise or ballistic

missiles with a range of up to 600 km or free-fall bombs, each bomber must be included in the 1,600 delivery vehicles and also, as one unit, in the 6,000 charges.

There are no disagreements on this score between us and the Americans. However, the Americans want to introduce yet another category—heavy bombers equipped with long-range non-nuclear cruise missiles—and not count this category anywhere; they do not want to count either the missiles or the delivery vehicles. This would be a double standard, and ultimately a situation might arise where, in addition to the 6,000 nuclear charges, the United States would have a reserve which could be used when the need arose to deploy [razmeshcheniye] several thousand additional nuclear charges. We believe that anything that goes beyond the agreed framework—1,600 delivery vehicles and 6,000 charges—must be destroyed: aircraft, missiles, and submarines.

Now about sea-launched cruise missiles: Here, too, the United States is looking for a channel to sidestep the treaty being drafted. So far it has agreed only in principle that it is necessary to limit sea-launched cruise missiles. It has not lifted a finger to turn this accord into a concrete treaty provision. The United States is rejecting all our proposals, claiming that, in its view, the verification system is ineffective. Asked what would be an effective system, they reply: "We do not know; our position on this has not been formulated." The only solution the Americans regard as possible is the following: The USSR and the United States should issue unilateral statements defining their plans for, say, the next 5 years, on sea-launched cruise missiles, saying, for instance, that by 1995, perhaps, the United States intends to deploy such-and-such a number of nuclear cruise missiles.

[Shalnev] Are these charges to be included in the 6,000?

[Karpov] No, according to the Americans, this is to be over and above the 6,000. The United States refuses to accept anything else. So no one would know how many such missiles were really deployed. Therefore, the treaty on a 50-percent cut would turn into fiction. It would apply only to air-launched cruise missiles, submarines equipped with ballistic missiles, and land-based ICBM's. But at sea it would be possible to deploy as many missiles as you like wherever you like. And so the question arises: Is the United States ready for a real limitation of its strategic arsenal?

[Shalnev] What is your view?

[Karpov] At this stage, it is not yet ready. A political decision is needed. If the White House makes such a decision, an agreement will be possible. References to the absence of an effective verification system on sea-launched cruise missiles are a diversionary maneuver. We have proposed a verification system whereby cruise missiles would essentially be monitored [kontrolirovatsya] throughout their lifespan, so to speak: Monitoring by the other side would begin as soon as a cruise missile leaves the factory gate. The missiles' itinerary is known. They pass through the point where the charge—nuclear or conventional—is fitted, and then the missile is placed on a submarine or a surface ship. There, too, there is verification. Any deviation from this itinerary would be prohibited. We are also proposing that restrictions should be placed on the number and type of surface ships and submarines on which the missiles can be placed. If just one cruise missile were detected on another ship, it would be a violation of the treaty with all the ensuing consequences. Furthermore: Inspections on ships and submarines could be carried out at any time, at the first demand.

[Shalnev] What was the Americans' reaction to these proposals?

[Karpov] They rejected them. They said that U.S. sailors would never agree to the presence of Russian inspectors on their submarines.

[Shalnev] How does a situation where our inspectors inspect a missile plant on U.S. territory differ from a situation where they inspect a submarine?

[Karpov] Well, the answer is probably obvious. If there is a political decision, the "insurmountable difficulties" which are currently being raised will disappear. The visits by our inspectors will be authorized. We, for our part, are ready for this kind of verification by the Americans on our side.

[Shalnev] In view of this adamant U.S. stance, how realistic was it for our side to put forward a series of proposals on the limitation of the activities of navies, as E.A. Shevardnadze has done at the current UN General Assembly special session on disarmament?

[Karpov] Not just the United States and the Soviet Union have navies, although the U.S. Navy is the biggest, of course. The threat inherent in naval arms is growing. This is borne out by the Persian Gulf, for instance. We believe that there are questions on which it is possible to reach agreement right now—this applies specifically to the question of the limitation of naval activities in areas through which the busiest trade lanes pass. It is important to open a serious discussion. This is not just our view. Many other countries share it. Proposals to limit naval activities have also come from Sweden and other states.

[Shalnev] Only two presidential candidates remain: Bush and Dukakis. I can imagine that people in Moscow are attentively following the development of the foreign policy platforms of these two contenders. On the basis of what is already known about them, which course, in your opinion, will events take?

[Karpov] I believe that when it comes to key questions of relations with the Soviet Union, continuity of policy is largely assured. If a Republican administration retains the White House, this continuity will be immediate. If a Democratic administration wins, the White House will possibly take some time to define its line. Every new administration wants to add something of its own.

[Shalnev] Does this mean that you believe that there will be a certain hiatus?

[Karpov] I would not rule this out. I do not believe, however, that the hiatus would last long since the process has already been initiated and a good basis for accords already exists.

[Shalnev] There is a successful Broadway show at the moment called "The Walk in the Woods" which in a part-allegorical, part-realistic form describes how the Geneva talks were conducted in the early eighties. A show is a show, but as far as I can remember, neither Washington nor Moscow has so far confirmed officially that such a walk in the woods did take place and that during this walk a Soviet and a U.S. diplomat exchanged highly interesting proposals on ways to reduce nuclear arms in Europe.

[Karpov] Well, the walk did take place, of course. No one is denying this, not even the people who went on this walk—Paul Nitze and Yuliy Kvitsinskiy. However, both claim that the conversation during this walk did not go the way the other side describes it. The conversation was tentative, along the lines: "What would happen if we tried the following option..."—with no commitments made. Simply, possible options for a solution were discussed.

[Shalnev] Suppose we turn the clock back by 5 years. Could the idea which was expressed during that walk and ultimately rejected have served as a fillip to progress at the Geneva talks at the time?

[Karpov] Well, you know, it is difficult to say now. The time simply was not right then. We occupied a stance which was squarely opposed to the siting of U.S. missiles in Europe. The Americans said bluntly that they would not give up their decision but were prepared to continue to negotiate. So we slammed the door shut, and it was probably futile to do so. There was no need to slam the door. Ultimately even then, there were elements in the U.S. stance which were subsequently used to elaborate an agreement. We should have used them and brought nearer a solution.

[Shalnev] Are you referring to the zero option?

[Karpov] Yes. We later merely complemented it with the accord on shorter-range missiles. But basically we adopted that option. [Karpov ends]

As we said goodbye, it occurred to me that a book—were one to be written—about the difficulties which we encountered on our way to the treaty which came into force on 1 June after the exchange of instruments of ratification during the Soviet-American summit in Moscow would probably be a bestseller.

Nonproliferation Consulations Begin With U.S.

PM1406135988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Jun 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report "The Latest Round"]

[Text] Vienna, 13 Jun—The latest round of Soviet-American consultations on questions pertaining to the nonproliferation of nuclear arms opened here today. The value of holding regular consultations of this kind was confirmed in the joint statement issued at the Moscow summit.

The distinctive feature of the current round lies in the fact that it is being held on the eve of the 20th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons. This treaty is one of the key international agreements in the sphere of arms control and applies to more than 130 states. During the Soviet-American summit in Moscow, M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan again reiterated their conviction that universal membership of the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons is of great significance for international peace and security.

The Soviet delegation at the talks is headed by B.A. Semenov, deputy chairman of the State Committee for Utilization of Atomic Energy, and the U.S. delegation by special envoy Richard T. Kennedy.

Editorial Evaluates Threat of Imperialism
PM1406094788 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Jun 88 First Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Imperatives of the Present Age"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The whole style of Soviet foreign policy activity has radically changed over the past 3 years. Dialogue has become its distinguishing feature. In the priority area—relations with socialist countries—we, together with our friends, have embarked in a comradely fashion on removing the accretions of formalism and pretense and have really linked the principles of equality, independence, and noninterference with objective reality, that is, the diversity of national forms of socialist society, the CPSU Central Committee Theses note.

During the years of restructuring, relations have either been improved or established for the first time with a great many states, both neighboring and distant. And with no state have they been spoiled.

The definite improvement in Soviet-American relations, symbolized by the summit meetings, makes it possible to hope for a fundamental breakthrough toward eliminating the nuclear threat. In the course of the latest, fourth, Soviet-American summit, which ended this month, the CPSU Central Committee general secretary and the U.S. President again solemnly reaffirmed their conviction that there can be no victors in a nuclear war and that such a war must never be unleashed, and they reiterated their resolve to forestall any war between the Soviet Union and the United States, whether nuclear or conventional, and their renunciation of any intentions to achieve military superiority. Both leaders are convinced that the expansion of the political dialogue which they have established is increasingly becoming an effective means of resolving questions of mutual interest and mutual concern. Such a dialogue, based on realism and focused on the achievement of concrete results, can serve as a constructive basis for the solution of not just today's problems, but also tomorrow's problems and even the next century's. This process accords with the vital interests of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the United States, and can contribute to the creation of a more stable and secure world.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo fully approved the work carried out by M.S. Gorbachev during the official visit of U.S. President R. Reagan to the Soviet Union and the results of the Soviet-American talks at the summit level.

Events have shown that the new political thinking correctly reflects the pressing needs and imperatives of the contemporary world. It has revived hope and opened the way for a qualitative breakthrough in mankind's consciousness. In the last 3 years the direct threat of a war involving the great powers has diminished.

This does not mean, of course, that the militarist danger inherent in the nature of imperialism can be disregarded from now on. This determines Soviet defense building, whose effectiveness is henceforth to be ensured primarily by qualitative parameters as regards both hardware and personnel. The impact of the realities of the contemporary world and the possible modifications of a number of objective factors which have provoked wars make it possible to believe that efforts to ensure the security of states will increasingly shift from the sphere of the correlation of military potentials to the sphere of politics, the primacy of law, universal human morality, and compliance with international obligations.

General Debate Ends at UN Disarmament Session
LD1406234588 Moscow TASS in English 2250 GMT 14 Jun 88

[Text] New York June 15 TASS—TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Chernyshov reports:

The general debate ended on Tuesday at the U.N. General Assembly's third special session on disarmament. One hundred and thirty-five speakers, among them the heads of state and government and ministers of foreign affairs of almost 80 states, set out the views not only of their own countries but of the whole of mankind on the most pressing problem of our time—disarmament and the ensurance of universal peace and security.

Practically all the participants in the discussion noted as a good omen the coincidence of the first phase of the special session with the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Moscow and the entering into force of the INF Treaty which ushered in an era of real nuclear disarmament. Welcoming progress at the Soviet-U.S. talks, the speakers emphasised the need to support and develop it on a multilateral basis and in all the main directions of disarmament.

Commenting at the request of the TASS correspondent on the results of the general debate, Joseph Reed (USA), U.N. under-secretary-general for political and general assembly affairs, pointed out that the voicing of the need to look for common ground for disarmament and for the ensurance of peace on earth was the keynote of the discussion in the 'world parliament'.

The session is now entering a responsible working moment of preparation of a final document which would worthily reflect the peoples' aspiration for disarmament and would map out specific ways for that. The nature of the detailed discussion of disarmament issues during the general debage, in Mr Reed's judgement, gives grounds to hope for successful conclusion of the special session.

Many specific proposals have already been brought up for consideration at the session by a whole number of states. A broad response has been roused by the "security through disarmament" memorandum submitted by the delegations of the Warsaw Treaty member-states. It

emphasises the need for a constructive and non-confrontational dialogue on all items of the agenda of the session, a dialogue directed towards concrete results, for a creative and flexible search for universally acceptable solutions leading to greater security through disarmament on the basis of common interests of all states, and for an unprejudiced approach to the ideas and proposals of others.

The delegates to the special session regarded with interest the Soviet Union's proposal to eliminate foreign military presence and military bases in other people's territories by the year 2000.

India has come forward with a plan of action to establish a nuclear-weapon-free and non-violent world order. Interesting proposals have been submitted by the delegations of Argentina, Finland, Sweden, Austria, Mongolia, Canada, the Belorussian and Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republics, Bulgaria, and many other states. These suggest that during the elaboration of a final document the special session devote particular attention to the need to stop the nuclear arms race, to the programme for a stage-by-stage elimination of nuclear weapons, complete and general ban on nuclear weapon tests, a ban on chemical weapons, the prevention of an arms race in outer space, reductions in conventional arms and the armed forces, interrelationship between disarmament and development, and the enhancement of the role and efficiency of the United Nations Organization in the cause of disarmament.

'Working Document' Submitted

LD1406205888 Moscow TASS in English 1748 GMT 14 Jun 88

[Text] New York June 14 TASS—The delegations of Bulgaria, Mongolia, and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic called the attention of the third special session of the United Nations General Assembly on disarmament to the need to enlist world public opinion in support of disarmament.

They submitted a working document to the special session today. In the document they urged the United Nations member countries to promote the ensurance of the circulation of objective information on all aspects of the arms race, to check the circulation of false and tendentious materials on armaments, to avoid implanting "the enemy image" and refrain from campaigns against the United Nations.

In the opinion of the authors of the document, the information activity of the United Nations member countries should promote in every way the realisation by the world public of the danger inherent in all the aspects of the arms race, the threat of war as a whole and of nuclear war in particular.

Further Criticism of Shultz

PM1506115188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jun 88 Second Edition p 1

[Own correspondent Viktor Linnik dispatch: "Unanswered Question"]

[Text] New York, 14 Jun—Yesterday's speech by U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz during the current general debate at the General Assembly's third special session on disarmament had been awaited here above all in order to discover what the reaction would be to the proposals contained in the speech by USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze. So what did it reveal?

Shultz welcomed the results of the four summits between the Soviet and U.S. leaders, the progress achieved in bilateral relations, and above all, of course, the nuclear disarmament process now under way. Hence the recognition of the need to move further—particularly on the question of 50-percent cuts in the Soviet and U.S. nuclear arsenals.

The secretary of state supported the idea of concluding an international convention banning chemical weapons, and condemned the spread of both nuclear and sophisticated conventional arms. However, there was not a word in response to the Soviet proposal calling once again at the United Nations for the banning of nuclear weapons tests. Yet this is one of the most effective measures to counter the spread of nuclear weapons!

A large part of the speech was taken up by an exposition of the U.S. and NATO approach to conventional arms and armed forces cuts in Europe. But, I think, the cause of disarmament would be better served by specific movement on this issue by the United States at specific talks.

Nor was the speech without its stabs at the USSR, with references to the question of the arms trade, Soviet military spending, and certain past "violations" by the Soviet Union of the Convention on the Prohibition of Biological and Toxin Weapons. But these were more of a homage to an old tradition rather than substantive arguments.

Conciliatory Spirit Lauded

PM1506092588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jun 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Dispatch by special correspondents V. Kobysh and A. Shalnev: "United Nations; Food for Thought"]

[Excerpt] New York—[Passage omitted] The special session has now been in progress for 1 and 1/2 weeks. And for 1 and 1/2 weeks measures have been taken that are timed to coincide with the special session but have been organized by different organizations from the most diverse countries rather than by the United Nations. One

and a half weeks is time enough to discuss the trends revealed in the speeches, conversations, statements, dialogues, monologues, debates, lectures, and reports.

The main impression is that compared to previous special sessions this one is richer in ideas and proposals.

We will not say that they are all brilliant or even simply good. Nor will we say that they are all of equal value in terms of importance, thrust, and, finally, their sense of realism. But the human mind is at work. And it aims to establish points of contact with others' ideas. It is not looking for negative aspects so that as soon as it lights upon the slightest hint of such it can reject and discount all the rest, but is seeking a grain of something positive, however small this grain may be.

We think that a fair number of reporters were surprised when, commenting on the speech given at the special session by Israeli Premier Yitzhaq Shamir, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze particularly highlighted several positive features in this speech—the idea of forming in the Near East a zone free of nuclear weapons, for example.

In turn, we ourselves were surprised when, asking General Walters, permanant U.S. representative to the United Nations, to comment on the speech by the Soviet minister, we heard him say: "A very positive speech. A great many interesting ideas. This gives us something to think about. An encouraging tone."

Our surprise is understandable: After all, the tradition has been that if there is any problem in relations, even a hint of praise must be regarded as something unnatural. Confrontation was the motto of the day, even if only verbal.

Of course, this confrontational spirit has not disappeared. We were surprised by the speech given by British Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe. Surprised because we had thought that the tone of the discussion would be quite different to that which the head of the Foreign Office tried to impose. Instead of real proposals and ideas we heard a range of cliches and predictable verbal assaults. One of Sir Geoffrey's philippics—"restructuring and glasnost have still not reached the Soviet military"—angered General V.M. Shabanov, USSR deputy defense minister.

"And how," the general said, "does Howe regard the fact that a member of the military—and, what is more, a man of my rank—is part of a Soviet Government delegation at the UN General Assembly special session on disarmament?"

Indeed, this is the first time this has happened.

It is also unprecedented to have a scientist—Academician V.I. Goldanskiy in this case—as part of our government delegation.

Shevardnadze, UN Chief Meet

PM1506093388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jun 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "USSR Foreign Minister's Meetings in New York"]

[Text] New York, 10 Jun—E.A. Shevardnadze has had talks with UN Secretary General J. Perez de Cuellar. The need to increase cooperation among various groups of states at the United Nations and make active use of its potential for making progress along the path of real disarmament and forming an all-embracing system of peace and security on the basis of the UN Charter was noted in the course of a broad exchange of opinions. In this connection the UN secretary general made a high assessment of the Soviet Union's role in initiating bold, specific proposals over the whole range of disarmament topics. The importance of efforts to create an atmosphere of openness and trust in relations among states was emphasized.

Advocating the enhancement in every way of the United Nations' role in finding mutually acceptable solutions for acute regional problems, E.A. Shevardnadze focused attention on the UN secretary general's role in promoting the strict fulfillment of the agreements on an Afghan settlement. Voicing agreement with this, Perez de Cuellar briefed him on the corresponding steps which he is taking. Questions of preparing for an international conference in the Near East and ending the Iran-Iraq conflict were discussed thoroughly. J. Perez de Cuellar expressed gratitude to the Soviet Union for its contribution to the cause of enhancing the effectiveness and authority of the United Nations and its support for the peacemaking efforts of its secretary general.

Shevardnadze, Gandhi Meet

PM1406095888 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jun 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "USSR Foreign Minister's Meetings in New York"]

[Text] New York, 10 Jun—E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, has met with Indian Prime Minister R. Gandhi, who has come to New York to participate in the work of the third UN General Assembly special session on disarmament.

E.A. Shevardnadze conveyed greetings and good wishes from M.S. Gorbachev to the Indian head of government. During the meeting a high assessment was made of the results of the recent Moscow talks between M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan. The opinion was expressed that they were not only a landmark event in Soviet-U.S. relations but also had a beneficial effect on the world situation as a whole and on the work of the UN General Assembly special session.

E.A. Shevardnadze spoke highly of the initiatives and proposals advanced by R. Gandhi in his speech at the special session, including the plan of action aimed at eliminating nuclear weapons and creating an all-embracing system of global security.

Ways to strengthen Soviet-Indian cooperation in achieving key foreign policy goals on the basis of the Delhi declaration on the principles of a nuclear-free and nonviolent world were examined in the course of further talks, which were held in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

The sides agreed that the resolution of disarmament problems and other global problems both at major international forums and as the result of bilateral meetings must lead to the shaping of a peace ensured by political means and by the primacy of truth and to the democratization and humanization of the system of international relations. During the talks, special attention was devoted to a discussion of regional conflicts, particularly the settlement of the situation around Afghanistan. The sides voiced concern at the fact that Pakistan is openly sabotaging the fulfillment of the Geneva accords and advocated strict observance of the signed agreements by all sides.

Some questions of Soviet-Indian cooperation were also touched on.

CSCE Delegate on Shevardnadze UN Proposals

LD1406133688 Moscow TASS in English 1010 GMT 14 Jun 88

[Text] Vienna June 14 TASS—A Soviet delegation at the Vienna meeting has informed participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe of the proposals of the USSR in the sphere of disarmament and consolidation of security that were set forth by Eduard Shevardnadze, minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, in New York at the third special disarmament session of the U.N. General Assembly.

Major General Viktor Tatarnikov, a member of the Soviet delegation who addressed the Vienna meeting, pointed out that the new Soviet proposals, especially the concept of bringing down the levels of military potentials in Europe, were directly connected with the problem of European security and disarmament.

Speaking about the process of working out a final document of the Vienna meeting of countries—participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, as well as a mandate of new talks on the reduction of the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe, the Soviet representative expressed concern over the attempts of delegations of NATO countries to hamper the coordination of military problems connected with security. He described as nonconstructive and inveterate the stands of delegations of the NATO countries on a number of key European security problems.

The Soviet delegation reaffirmed its readiness for vigorous and constructive work aimed at completing as soon as possible the drawing up of a final document of the Vienna meeting and a mandate of future talks on the reduction of the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe. It urged Western countries to make reciprocal steps and to quest for mutually acceptable agreements.

UN Group Opens Talks on Peaceful Uses of Space

LD1406102788 Moscow TASS in English 0624 GMT 14 Jun 88

[Text] New York June 14 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Chernyshev:

The United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space opened another session at the U.N. Headquarters Monday.

It has been instructed by the U.N. General Assembly to examine ways and means to keep space peaceful as a priority.

At its 42nd session the assembly stressed humanity's common interest in the peaceful study and exploitation of outer space. Expressing concern about outer space militarization, it urged all nations to give vigorous help to efforts to prevent an arms race in space.

The general debate at the meeting of the committee was opened by its chairman, Peter Jankowitsch of Austria, who pointed to the markedly improved international atmosphere in which the sitting was being held.

He noted, among other things, signs of the political will to resolve the longest-standing and most complicated international problems.

The session was taking place soon after the Moscow summit between the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States, which had taken the two powers even further along the path of constructive and productive relations, Jankowitsch continued.

He called on the delegates not to miss these favorable opportunities and contribute to peace, international cooperation and mutual responsibility as the basic principles of human activity in outer space.

The leader of the Soviet delegation, A.S. Piradov, said the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles had marked the start of an era of nuclear disarmament and offered striking evidence of new political thinking in practice.

The Soviet Union's approach to the study and uses of space, he said, was based on its keen desire for extensive cooperation. When making its proposals, including the idea of establishing a world space organization, it had proceeded from the need to reinforce the conceptual basis of interstate cooperation in the space field and broaden equal and mutually beneficial interaction among all nations in developing peaceful space.

"We are deeply convinced that promoting such cooperation aimed at consolidating the foundation of 'Star Peace' is the sole real alternative to plans to spread the arms race to outer space.

"Promising practical benefits from space activities to all countries, the world space organization will at the same time be geared to the realization of the two-point task of global significance, namely disarmament and development," Piradov continued.

He said the implementation of a Soviet proposal for an international space center could be very promising for international cooperation in space as it would provide effective assistance to developing nations in research and technological progress and make a significant contribution to meeting social and economic needs.

The Soviet representative called for dealing with the global problem of space in all its aspects—scientific, technological, legal, political and military—through the pooled efforts of states.

Further on Initialing of EEC-CEMA Accord

PM1506095988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jun 88 Morning Edition p4

[TASS report under rubric "Facts, Events, Opinons" and the general heading: "Establishment of Relations Between CEMA and the EEC"]

[Text] The Joint Declaration on the Establishment of Official Relations Between CEMA and the EEC was initialed in Moscow 9 June.

This was preceded by talks between the two organizations which passed in a constructive, businesslike atmosphere and during which both sides displayed good will and a readiness to seek mutually acceptable decisions.

The initialing of the Joint Declaration completed the preparation of the document, which normalizes relations between these two major international organizations and opens a new stage in these relations.

The two sides expressed their intention to develop cooperation in areas of common interest and to promote the further development of international economic cooperation, which is an important factor of economic growth and social progress.

The normalization of relations between CEMA and the EEC is a real contribution to the implementation of the CSCE Final Act which will help to improve the political climate in Europe and throughout the world.

On the CEMA side, the Joint Declaration was initialed by M. Marinov, deputy secretary of the council and head of the delegation of CEMA experts; on the EEC side it was initialed by J. Maslen, head of the department responsible for socialist countries and CEMA at the EEC Commission's Directorate-General for External Relations and head of the delegation of EEC experts.

In line with the accord, it is planned to sign the Joint Declaration 25 June in Luxembourg.

The establishment of official relations between CEMA and the EEC, a CEMA representative noted, opens the way to major all-European projects in the most diverse spheres—environmental protection, an integrated transport network, the power industry, scientific and technical cooperation, and the formation of joint enterprises. The realization of all these plans will allow us to make the best use of the CEMA countries' economic and industrial potential and their resources in conjunction with the production base of our West European partners and their ability to supply the market with finished products and sell these products on the world market.

F.P. Bogdanov, Soviet ambassador to Belgium, conveyed a note verbale to Willy de Clercq, member of the Commission of European Communities responsible for questions of foreign ties and trade policy, in Brussels in which, considering the mutual interest expressed, the Soviet Government conveyed its willingness to establish official relations with the European communities.

In line with the accord reached between Soviet Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze and W. de Clercq, member of the Commission of European Communities, this step has been taken in parallel to today's meeting in Moscow to initial the Joint Declaration on the Establishment of Official Relations between CEMA and the EEC.

United States & Canada

Reagan Addresses Atlantic Council Session

LD1406083688 Moscow TASS in English 0655 GMT 14 Jun 88

[Text] Washington June 14 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nikolay Turkatenko:

The annual conference of the Atlantic Council of the USA opened in the premises of the U.S. State Department on Monday. The conference is to discuss the subject of the restoration of concensus at NATO on issues of East-West relations. Opening the conference of that influential public organisation, among whose members are former prominent political and military figures, representatives of big business, General Andrew Goodpaster, Supreme Allied Commander, Europe (NATO), who is chairman of the council, stressed the need for strengthening NATO's unity, since there are, as he put it, different approaches to questions pertaining to East-West relations among that military political bloc after the Soviet-American INF Treaty was concluded and as a result of the growing interest in Europe in a reduction of conventional weapons in Europe jointly with the USSR. Jeane Kirkpatrick, former U.S. representative to the UN, was speculating on some "Soviet menace to the Western democracies, but she was forced at the same time to admit the growing interest in Soviet initiatives in Western Europe aimed at lessening tensions in Europe and the change currently under way in the Soviet Union.

It is an objective of paramount significance to reach full agreement in the approach to the NATO member countries to those issues, she said.

Congressman Dave McCurdy briefed the conference on the reaction in U.S. Congress to perestroyka, to new thinking in the Soviet Union both as regards the home and foreign policy problems. In his view, the reforms in the Soviet Union accord, as can be seen now, both with the interests of the USSR and the USA.

The participants in the conference were addressed by U.S. President Ronald Reagan. His speech was devoted chiefly to the upcoming meeting in Toronto (Canada) of the heads of state and government of the seven Western industrialised nations. It, in the President's opinion, is designed to make a contribution to strengthening the unity of the Western allies. President Reagan admitted that there are differences among the NATO member countries, yet, as he stressed, they reduce to the methods of implementing policy rather than its substance. Recalling the conclusion of the INF Treaty and other factors contributing towards an improvement of East-West relations, in particular the start of the return of Soviet troops home from Afghanistan, Reagan said that the road to peace lies through the West's unity, confidence and power.

As is pointed out in the circles close to the conference, the calls ringing out at it for strengthening the unity of NATO and the very officially announced subject of the conference are proofs of sharp divisions on the issue of how East-West relations should be built now that the INF Treaty has been concluded and in the light of the changes in the Soviet Union. U.S. press reports are quoted, as evidence of how sharp these divisions are, on the statement made by FRG Foreign Minister Hans Dietrich Genscher in Potsdam (GDR) on June 11, who as the "WASHINGTON POST" noted had warmly welcomed the Soviet plan directed at a drastic cut in the conventional weapons in Europe, while the USA has rejected it.

A number of the delegates to the conference also recall such problems as the reluctance of some NATO member countries to give consent to the U.S. demands for a buildup in the guise of a "modernisation" of the arsenals of the U.S. tactical nuclear weapons in the territories of those countries, which do not fall under the INF Treaty, as well as their reluctance to yield to the pressure of the USA, which demands from them a sharp increase in spendings on conventional weapons.

'Top Priority' on Gorbachev-Reagan Summit

LD1106194488 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 10 Jun 88

["Top Priority" program, presented by Pavel Kuznetsov, with Dr Radomir Bogdanov and Dr Sergey Plekhanov, "our usual panel"—not further identified]

[Text] How do you do, ladies and gentlemen. I am Pavel Kuznetsov presenting "Top Priority", a weekly panel discussion of major world and domestic events. With me in the studio are Drs Radomir Bogdanov and Sergey Plekhanov, our usual panel. The Moscow summit between General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and President Ronald Reagan has become history, but it is still being analyzed and I think the consensus is that perhaps for the first time since World War II, instead of producing spectaculars or instead of dashing hopes just because there were no spectaculars, the Moscow conference has set Soviet-American relations on a very realistic course, some say even on a pragmatic course. But at the same time there are still some lingering concerns and one of them has to do with whether or not we're going to squander precious time and thus lose some of the momentum gained in Moscow. This is one of the thoughts that was expressed by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze in New York, where he addressed a special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations on disarmament. What do you think our foreign minister had in mind when he cautioned against losing time? Dr Bogdanov?

[Bogdanov] My guess is that he had in mind some political events of major importance.

[Kuznetsov] Was he referring to a presidential campaign?

[Bogdanov] Yes, I am referring to the presidential campaign. I am referring to the fact that in next January we'll have a new administration, and unfortunately this is the reality of American political life: When there's a new administration they will have to have some months to put their own house in order before they start working with, not only with us, but with their own allies.

[Kuznetsov] Especially if you have a Democrat in the White House.

[Bogdanov] Democrat. If, if. But I believe that the foreign minister had something else in mind besides that. He had in mind the fact that the technological-military breakthroughs are of such nature now that a phenomena of today is that the technological process of armament is much outpacing the political process of disarmament.

[Kuznetsov] By wasting precious time I mean such a situation when we, I mean the United States, the Soviet Union and Western Europe and the world community at large as a whole, go back to that old cycle of proposals and counterproposals, of charges and countercharges with very little, if any, progress in between, and what I'm talking about right now is a very concrete example. Take this session of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Madrid, Spain. Secretary General Lord Carrington on Wednesday, speaking in Madrid, of war, and the allies against being carried away by the new thaw in Soviet-American relations stemming from the Moscow summit, and at the same time Eduard Shevardnadze, like we already said, addressed a special United Nations General Assembly session in New York on disarmament where he gave new emphasis to such Soviet concepts as reasonable sufficiency. So just kind of pulling in the opposite directions....

[Plekhanov, interrupting] Well, you know, according to the recent estimate, the world is now spending $1 trillion a year on the arms race, $1 trillion a year, that's a budget for a lot of people, a lot of structures who have a vested interest in keeping that. If you imagine a $1 trillion corporation, global corporation, of those involved in the production of arms, the maintenance of arms, I think it's clear that the resistance to any progress toward disarmament is bound to be tremendous. NATO is part of that. Lord Carrington speaks in favor of that, you know Global Arms Race Combine, Arms Race Inc., if you will. And it's understandable that in some circles in the West there is concern that after the first arms reduction treaty there will be another one, and then another one, and before you know it the arms budget, the military budgets, are going to come down. We are now proposing a set of things which can form the basis of an agreement on conventional arms reduction, and that's a serious thing, and Ronald Reagan got interested, Secretary Carlucci has got interested, and we have something serious on the table which could move us, maybe in 3 or 4 years time, till we had serious reductions on the conventional side, and that's the costliest weapons that exist.

[Kuznetsov] I understand that conventional weapons and armaments, conventional forces in Europe, actually have moved to center stage, now that this accord on 50-percent cuts in long-range offensive arms is going to be negotiated hopefully in the near future. I mean this has become a major, if not the major, issue between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO. And in this respect I would like you to comment on reports in the West, on some reactions in the West, to Eduard Shevardnadze's speech. He was accused of breaking no new ground, reiterating all dormant Soviet proposals of reasonable sufficiency, of including naval forces in negotiations, and the West, especially the United States, reject this proposal....

[Bogdanov, interrupting] I believe this is just a trick. My impression is that they're just trying to make us to deliver more and more proposals without any reaction from their part on the already existing proposals.

[Kuznetsov] Well, I think they want some unilateral action on our part.

[Bogdanov] Exactly, unilateral action just to sit down and look at the Soviet side, but that won't play any more. You have already very important set of proposals of major importance. You have it on the table and please for heaven's sake it's a high time to react, to discuss it.

[Kuznetsov] I'd like, Sergey, for you to comment on some of the major points of Eduard Shevardnadze's speech.

[Plekhanov] Well, as far as reasonable sufficiency is concerned we are talking of having a level of preparedness, military preparedness, which would be necessary in order to defend the country from an aggressive attack, but nothing beyond that, and it assumes a defense posture that makes it impossible for every country to wage aggressive warfare, offensive warfare. Now of course we are insisting that it be done bilaterally on both wides, the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO, which is, it can only be done by both sides, and it should be done by both sides in concert. I mean the work on changing the doctrines, reducing the level of armaments, eliminating the asymmetries, that can only be done by negotiation between the two sides. I think that there is no running away from those proposals.

[Kuznetsov] When you said that the West, Dr Bogdanov, when you said that the West would like us to produce more and more proposals, I don't think this is correct. They would like to see some action, unilateral action on our part, like a sharp reduction in the number of tanks and artillery pieces where we have an edge over NATO, without making any reciprocal move, like cutting down on the number of tactical aircraft and perhaps including naval forces in disarmament talks. What else? Did you

hear, have you heard some American experts and analysts, military analysts, saying that the Soviet doctrine of reasonable sufficiency should also apply to the Soviet strategic forces, and I wonder whether Washington is prepared to dismantle at least one military base along the perimeter of the Soviet Union?

[Bogdanov] Look, Pavel, this is....

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] This should be a two-way street.

[Bogdanov] This is very, very, too important a question to be discussed within such a short time that we have got for "Top Priority", but basically I agree with you. But I still insist that you have such a smart people at the Western side that they know what they're doing. But I have a question to Sergey and to you. People at the Western side are claiming that we have superiority in conventional forces. Okay, we have, if you like, superiorities, if you like, disparities, asymmetries, and we have suggested to the American side a three-stage plan how to deal with the conventional problem. Number one is to (?exchange data.) Sergey, you claim that Radomir has superiority. Okay, I agree. But let's produce figures.

[Plekhanov] A joint database.

[Bogdanov] A joint database on which to deal with that problem.

[Plekhanov] And have inspectors (?on site).

[Bogdanov] You know what's been happening so far. You have a number, thousands of data circulating around the world but very few official data. I'm sorry to say, and I invite Sergey, as the Soviet Government, or American rather, American Government, to join me round this table with official hard core data. Why you don't agree, Sergey? Because my question is that when we come down to the agreement that the actual situation, that the actual number, my second stage, of the second stage of my plan, to cut asymmetries in such a way that we dismantle, that we, we destroy all this asymmetries. [sentence as heard]

[Plekhanov] And have equal levels.

[Bogdanov] And have equal levels.

[Plekhanov] By reducing, not by (?pushing) up.

[Bogdanov] By reducing by five, by half a million....

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] What is your stage number three, then?

[Bogdanov] My stage number three, that after that, we deal with weapon systems in such a way that only defensive weapon systems are left, and you have sufficiency in such a way that you are capable only for offensive....

[Poekhanov, interrupting] For defense.

[Bogdanov] I'm sorry, defense. My question to you, Sergey. Why you, American guy, don't accept (?that)?

[Kuznetsov] Okay, now this process, has to be controlled. Has to be controlled and verified...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] Oh yes, of course.

[Kuznetsov, continuing] ...During all the three stages that you have mentioned.

[Bogdanov] By the way, by the way, Mr American Government, when I invite you to exchange datas I open my doors for your inspectors. If I say that's my one division, you are welcome to come and to check it up, not only the location but number of soldiers. Why you don't accept that, Mr American Government?

[Plekhanov] My response would be, you know, for so many years the Russians would refuse to let American, NATO inspectors on their soil that we on the American side are used to thinking about the ideal for an inspector anywhere as something to good to be true, or as something unrealistic by nature. Now that there is a real process of having Soviet inspectors on the American bases, that sounds a little bit strange.

[Kuznetsov] Bizarre.

[Plekhanov] Bizarre, and so it has to be (?thought about).

[Kuznetsov] Are you suggesting, Sergey, that the tables have been turned (?in very real terms)?

[Plekhanov] I think the American military are for the first time faced with a possibility that we'll have the Russians, you know, around (?here).

[Kuznetsov] I have something that I think is a mind-boggling dilemma. Well, both the USSR and the United States are ready to start destroying their INF missiles under control, and speaking in New York, Eduard Shevardnadze said that—invited international representatives to watch the destruction, adding jokingly that, and I quote: This, of course, is not the Bolshoy Theater but a major premiere nonetheless, a momentous historic event. Are we ready to give up nuclear weapons because we cannot fight any war with them? But we're not ready to give up conventional arms because we still think in terms of being able to fight a (?world war).

[Bogdanov] Well, maybe, maybe you are right. Some people believe that nuclear weapon is no good any more for fighting ominous nuclear wars, but conventional weapons are benign weapons.

[Kuznetsov] Clean, nice, (?manageable).

[Bogdanov] Clean, nice and you can use them, which is not the case already. They're as obsolete by their dangerous nature as nuclear weapons.

[Kuznetsov] In other words, one of the reasons is that the idea of fighting a conventional war in Europe is still very much alive in some people's minds. Is that it?

[Plekhanov] It's alive in the strategy that's alive and designed for military exercises. I mean, this is what keeps both military alliances going and there is a lot of built-in inertia and conservatism in the thinking of both sides. But despite that conservatism there is the truth which is being increasingly understood by people on both sides, that really you can't fight a conventional war in Europe any more because it will be the end of Europe.

[Kuznetsov] So it's just a matter of time before we....

[Plekhanov, interrupting] It's just a matter of time.

[Bogdanov] Sergey, when you say end of Europe you mean Europe as a whole or you mean some parts of Europe?

[Plekhanov] I think Europe as a whole. You know, Chernobyl was a reminder that even a small-scale nuclear accident can have conventional consequences, and if you imagine a major battle raging in the center of Europe with its nuclear power plants and its chemical facilities and all kinds of (?ground) storage. It will be a colossal disaster and America will not be able to just sit by and watch.

[Kuznetsov] As time is running out on us I would like to ask whether you agree with my final observation or not. I think perhaps I'm allowing my imagination to run away but I think there is a connection between a slow progress in arms control and certain attitudes toward glasnost and perestroyka, a certain ambivalence and contradicting attitudes to the new Soviet policy and not only Soviet policy. There are major changes in...across Eastern Europe, and I think that these ambivalent attitudes manifest themselves in such causes—let us not give loans to the Soviet Union and to the socialist countries before they produce some major political changes in their systems. Do they really fear that there will be a new Soviet Union, a more dynamic Soviet Union?

[Bogdanov] Some people fear....

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] Is this behind this pressure?

[Bogdanov] This is behind, behind, this is behind that, that, those feelings.

[Kuznetsov] And will they prefer to deal with a stagnating giant rather than a new society?

[Plekhanov] Well, yes. It's a matter of....

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] But on the other hand they were saying that while this stagnating Soviet Union, this totalitarian government regime in the Soviet Union was unpredictable, it was dangerous to deal with it.

[Plekhanov] Yes, I think that very influential people in the United States and the West in general are afraid that, afraid of a Soviet Union that is in crisis because that's unpredictable, that may have dangerous certain consequences, but they're also afraid of a Soviet Union that becomes too strong and vibrant economically. I mean as a result of perestroyka. So they are trying to find middle ground between these two scenarios which to my mind only reflects lack of vision and lack of certainty about their own perspectives, the perspectives of the West, because in a demilitarized world, in a world which is not divided across cold war lines, in a world which is interdependent, democratically constructed, there should be no fear of a strong socialist nation like the Soviet Union and other strong socialist nations. I mean strong not militarily, because we are talking about a demilitarized world, competitive economically.

[Kuznetsov] In other words, what you are saying is that by being kind of afraid of an open and dynamic Soviet Union they are afraid that socialism may prove that it's a liable [as heard] political system.

[Plekhanov] Yes, I think they have those ideological feelings.

[Kuznetsov] Ideological feelings.

[Plekhanov] But they're looking backward, not forward. I'm sure that the next generation of leaders in the West is going to be more enlightened.

[Kuznetsov] Thank you, gentlemen. Our time is up. I'm Pavel Kuznetsov, your host on "Top Priority", signing off till next week at the same time and on the same wavelength and I invite everybody to join us a week from now. Goodbye.

Daily Carries Falin Article on Moscow Summit

AU1306151088 Bonn DIE WELT in German 13 Jun 88 p 5

[Article by Valentin Falin, chief editor of the Moscow news agency NOVOSTI: "The Summit—A True Milestone"]

[Text] The meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan is an event that will have

long-term repercussions. Any further development of Soviet-U.S. relations has a direct or indirect influence on the international climate as a whole. What is it that makes the latest meeting a true milestone; what is it that justifies the statement that the Soviet-U.S. dialogue has reached a new stage? This question cannot be clearly answered, even though the particularities of the Moscow meeting are unmistakable. It was the longest in terms of time, it was the most tightly-packed with regard to the problems that were discussed, and it was the most intensive meeting concerning the thoroughness of discussion. And one thing has to be particularly emphasized: This meeting distinguished itself by the coming into force of the INF Treaty, a paper that could very well signify the change toward the epoch of nuclear disarmament.

At the news conference on the results of the negotiations, Mikhail Gorbachev was justified in saying: "This is not only a formality." When he voiced these words, he probably had in mind that since 1972 various agreements, signed by the top politicians of both powers, have accumulated in Soviet-U.S. relations, agreements which did not live up to their purpose because they did not go beyond their drafts. The putting into force of the INF Treaty alone gave a purpose to the meeting of the leading statesmen of the two countries. Of course, the Soviet public, like all honest people in the world, hoped that the Moscow meeting would give the go-ahead to the next stage of reducing the nuclear threat and that it would pave the way to halving the strategic offensive weapons. Unfortunately, this was not the case. Why?

At a certain point after the Washington summit, the American side forgot its principle of "time is money." The reason for this hesitation, for the inconsistency, and the tendency to endlessly discuss parts of an agreement that have long and repeatedly been coordinated, is not only due to the fact that the USSR and U.S. delegations in Geneva are doing pioneer work. According to certain announcements, to date the U.S. joint chiefs of staff have not been able to definitely agree on the potential results of the 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons on the U.S. defense doctrine and on the global and regional U.S. concepts.

If it is correct that matters are still unclear in this area, one can hardly expect the United States to have a clear attitude in the negotiations. Its continued efforts to leave itself a loophole in order to compensate for the end to the arms race and real disarmament in one field by increased armament in another are some sort of confirmation that different U.S. concepts exist in this area.

Does this mean that the START negotiations have failed or have reached a dead end? Not at all. Both parties have made progress—quite a lot of progress—in many directions, also at the Moscow meeting itself. The treaty is gradually taking on clearly visible outlines. Therefore, the idea of a fifth meeting between Gorbachev and Reagan this year is realistic.

For the U.S. President the visit to Moscow signified not only an intensification and exploration of new fields of cooperation. Ronald Reagan is discovering a whole country for himself and for the entire conservative part of America. Not in black and white, as he has seen it for many decades, but in many colors, in bright light, in the spirit of sincere feelings. Has this discovery taken place?

The friendly words that the President used at, among other things, the farewell ceremony in the Kremlin and during his stopover in London, are, as I would like to believe, a bit more than the expression of his gratitude for the hospitality granted to him.

If Ronald Reagan is a realist, as he has often stressed, then the Soviet realities must confirm his view that Geneva, Rejkjavik, Washington, and now Moscow were necessary; that it is precisely this way and no other that promises to enable us to come to terms with the oppressive uncertainty of the future, of its existence or even nonexistence; that the United States can indeed keep its own views and remain loyal to its ideals and will not get worse or slide into political or ideological calamities if it realizes that normal people live and work in the Soviet Union.

The most important result of the Moscow meeting is perhaps simply the fact that it offered new evidence of the elementary truth: The USSR and the United States are—if they want to live on—condemned to live side by side as good neighbors, to respect the other's legitimate interests and positions, to respect the interests of their friends, and to take into consideration the realities, even though some of these realities do not correspond to their customs, sympathies, and convictions.

Ships Search for U.S. Trappers in North

LD1406153088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 14 Jun 88

[Text] Information from the TASS correspondent in Vladivostok—Soviet sailors have become engaged in a search for seven U.S. hunters and trappers who went out to sea in two small boats and are missing in the area near the northwestern part of St Lawrence Island. The commander of the Alaskan coast guard appealed to them for assistance after a drastic change in the meteorological situation complicated the operation by U.S. rescue services.

Having received the alarm signal, motorships of the Far Eastern Shipping Line which were heading for ports in the Far North immediately changed course. The first to reach the search area were the "Vladimir Arsenyev" and the "Nizhneyansk," which are strengthened against ice. They were replaced by the "Dzhurma" and the "Vitya Sitnitsa." An area of approximately 100 square miles has already been searched. The search is made extremely complicated by the difficult state of the ice, the thick fogs, and the lack of the corresponding radio apparatus

on the boats. Constant radio contact has been set up between the rescue services of the Far Eastern Shipping Line and the U.S. Coast Guard to coordinate the rescue operation.

Official on Navigation Cooperation With U.S.

LD1406164688 Moscow TASS in English 1446 GMT 14 Jun 88

[Text] Leningrad June 14 TASS—The radio-navigation system Tchaika—Loran-C programme will help navigators to locate an aircraft or a vessel promptly and precisely. The creation of this radio-navigation system is envisaged by an intergovernmental agreement signed during the Soviet-American Moscow summit. Leningrad specialists embarked on the implementation of their part of this international programme.

The programme is called upon to improve the quality of long-range navigation communication which will enhance the safety of navigation on waterways and airroutes, said general designer of the all-union research institute of radio equipment, Gennadiy Gromov. Soviet and American specialists will create unified receiving devices which can be combined both with American and Soviet equipment. The signing of the documents was preceded by meetings of experts to determine an overall programme of designing and testing. After their completion the instruments will be tested with the participation of pilots, seamen, scientists and production workers of both countries.

The Leningrad institute maintains fruitful ties with related organisations in the USA. Radar systems for controlling air traffic in the zone of airports are created at the Leningrad Institute in cooperation with American specialists.

RSFSR Delegation Continues U.S. Visit

PM1306113588 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 7 Jun 88 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "RSFSR Supreme Soviet Delegation Visit to United States"]

[Text] New York, 6 Jun—The delegation of RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputies headed by A.N. Gerasimov, member of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and first secretary of the Leningrad CPSU Gorkom, is continuing its visit. The Soviet delegation is in the United States at the invitation of the Illinois Legislative Assembly, Illinois University, and the USIA.

The deputies have had meetings with the leadership of both chambers of the Illinois Legislative Assembly in Springfield, the state administrative center. The head of the delegation delivered a speech at a House of Representatives session.

State Governor J. Thompson, gave a dinner in honor of the Soviet guests. Welcoming them, he spoke warmly of his recent visit to the USSR and expressed the desire for Illinois' business circles to vigorously develop trade and economic relations with the Soviet Union.

The RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputies visited Springfield's mayor.

The delegation visited a plant belonging to the "Caterpillar" agricultural equipment company in Peoria and visited Illinois State University and the Chicago commodity exchange. They met with 200 leading businessmen at a Chicago business club and had a lively discussion of the question of the policy of glasnost and the prospects for the development of Soviet-U.S. relations.

"Our visit is taking place in an exceptionally amicable atmosphere," A.N. Gerasimov, head of the Soviet delegation, said in an interview with TASS correspondent B. Kikilo. "The Soviet-U.S. Moscow summit which has just taken place could not fail to make an impact on it. Americans at all levels are expressing a most lively interest in the restructuring under way in our country, and not only in the socioeconomic sphere but also in all other spheres of the life of Soviet society. Especially great interest is being shown in the all-union party conference, which is coming up at the end of the month."

"Our trip convinces us that our peoples have a great deal in common, especially in relations between people, and that there is good understanding," the Soviet delegation head continued. "We must set about organizing contacts at state and republic level, emphasizing the development of economic ties between individual industrial enterprises and university exchanges. The U.S. side is interested in this and is taking up a constructive position."

China

Additional Afanasyev 'Travel Notes' on PRC Trip

PM1406104788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jun 88 Second Edition p 5

[Final part of V. Afanasyev "Travel Notes" article: "Two Weeks in China"]

[Text] Economic Reform [subhead]

China's economic structure was set up in the years of the first 5-year plans. It played a positive role. But in the fifties serious shortcomings in it—excessive centralization, departmentalism, bureaucratism, and the need for much clearing of decisions—were already emerging. Enterprises in the same city were under the jurisdiction of different departments in Beijing. Enterprises did not have any real rights. Wage-leveling was the order of the day in labor remuneration. People were paid not for their work, but for coming to work, for the job, for the position.... People ate, as the Chinese like to put it, out of "one big bowl." RENMIN RIBAO for 5 December 1986

published a striking caricature of this bowl based on the notion of a "free lunch," which is familiar to us. Hence the lack of interest in work and the low productivity. The situation became intolerable. Moreover, the "Cultural Revolution" had swept across China like a black whirlwind. And this after the bad memory of the "people's communes" and the "Great Leap Forward."

Radical and urgent measures were needed.

The CPC Central Committee 3d Plenum, 11th Convocation (1978) adopted a historic decision on economic reform in China and the creation of a fundamentally new economic structure. It put a stop to barefaced overadministration and the limitless diktat of the center, and marked the end of the underassessment of commodity-money relations, the law of value, the market, and the relationship between supply and demand.

The main aim of the reform is to create a socialist commodity economy while ensuring state control of the market.

In 1982 a session of the Chinese National People's Congress [NPC] set up the State Commission for Restructuring the Economic System under the PRC State Council. It is now headed by Li Peng, premier of the State Council. The commission has its own organs in the provinces. Its task is, first, to define the main avenues of reform; second, to coordinate and control the reform in departments and territories.

As Gao Shangquan, deputy chairman of the commission, told us, the economic reform in the PRC has been through two stages.

During the first stage (December 1978 to October 1984) the reform was established and developed primarily in the countryside. Why there specifically? Because the overwhelming majority of the Chinese population (over 80 percent) lives and works there. The main task was to feed our people.

In conversation, Peng Zhen, vice chairman of the NPC Standing Committee, stated that if China cannot feed its own billion-strong population, no other country and nobody else will do the job for it. If things are good in the countryside, social stability in the country is guaranteed.

China has fed its people by sharply increasing food production. Over the last 9 years, the net income of people living in the countryside has increased by 216 percent, while the income of city dwellers has increased by 162 percent.

We saw no hungry or poor people with outstretched hands. Yet in those distant years of the forties, I came across very large numbers of them. The Chinese enjoy life; mostly they are well dressed and wear modern clothes. In innumerable stores large and small, street stalls, gigantic bazaars and tiny markets, on hawkers' trays, and in the arms of traders we saw masses of foodstuffs—rice, meat, poultry, eggs, and particularly, fruit and vegetables. We were told that around 500 varieties of fruit and vegetables are sold in Shanghai. Rice and vegetables are the basic foods of the Chinese.

The main reform in the countryside has been the contract—the family, team, or collective contract. Mainly the family contract. I do not think I would be wrong to say that the family is the main cell of agriculture in China. A family or team is given possession of land—the term of this possession was recently increased to 50 years. Peasants are complete masters of the land and produce whatever is in demand at the market. Part of the produce is sold (under contract) to the state, since purchase prices have been increased. The remainder is used by the peasants themselves, while any surplus is sold at market.

In the second stage of the reform (1984-1987) the economic structure of cities has been transformed from top to bottom—from enterprises to ministries. All functions, from production to output sales, are carried out by enterprises.

The 13th CPC Congress (October-November 1987) marked the start of the third stage—the stage of deepening the reform, spreading it everywhere, further decentralizing the economy, creating a market system, and finally switching from the old economic structure to the new. All enterprises produce and dispose of their production themselves. They work on the basis of self-capitalization and are themselves responsible for their losses. They keep around 15 percent of the profits, with the rest going to the state. They develop production and pay their workers and employees themselves—and wages are differentiated according to labor input and qualifications. Bonuses, often very considerable, are paid for exceeding norms.

The contract or lease system has been introduced at 80 percent of enterprises. Sectors, shops, and even whole enterprises are taken under contract or leased. We visited the port of Shanghai, which works entirely on a contract basis. The contract means greater rights and, as people say here, "complete production responsibility" on the part of leaders from top to bottom for every matter, large or small. Direct horizontal contacts are established with suppliers of raw materials, components, and articles, and with the trading system. Their work is dependent on the market. If certain goods are in great demand, production of them is increased. If the demand for certain goods evaporates, production of them is stopped. To a considerable extent, prices are not controlled; they are determined on the basis of the market and the correlation of supply and demand.

Material and technical supply is decentralized; equipment, raw materials, and components are obtained from the wholesale trade system or through direct ties. If there is a shortage of funds, bank loans are obtained. Shares

are issued which are sold in the same market. Loss-making enterprises are either closed down or merged with other profitable enterprises. Voluntary association of the weak and the strong, Gao Shangquan believes, is much better than declaring a weak enterprise bankrupt and closing it down.

China, Gao continued, is creating an entire market system. Land, equipment, technology, raw materials, components, finished products, labor, funds, securities, apartments, houses, and scientific, organizational, cultural, and domestic services are becoming commodities.

No, this in no way means that China has completely abandoned centralized planning and control of the market and prices. Centralized organs, the State Council, and ministries continue to determine economic strategy, general planning, investment policy, senior cadre positions, the printing of money, defense, and other state functions.

Production of the most important types of output and their prices are planned (in Shanghai, for instance, such items and their prices make up 20 percent of total industrial output).

The prices of certain basic foodstuffs (rice, meat, and sugar) are controlled. There are special stores where these products are sold for coupons. The prices there are low and fixed. These and all other products can be bought in other stores, but there the prices are markedly higher.

Literally on the day of our arrival, the prices of basic foodstuffs were increased. Although compensation in the form of a monetary wage supplement is envisaged, the price rise did not delight the population—particularly the low-income segment, which is very large in China.

It is typical that both the level of the price rise and the subsidy differ in different provinces of the Republic according to their specific circumstances and economic condition.

In general, it should be said that the price problem is a highly complex and difficult one. As Gao Shangquan put it, it is the "key" problem in the Chinese economy and its restructuring. Not all prices are rational or scientifically justified. They are set at enterprises' own discretion, mainly on the basis of the market. Prices are skewed by the well-known discord [dissonans] in the country's economic life. It is necessary to constantly regulate prices and correlate them with wages and the saturation of the market. The prices-wages-market trio has been called the "Bermuda Triangle" of the Chinese economy.

This trio contains other difficulties and disproportions, in income distribution, for instance. It is necessary and vital to overcome wage-leveling and the "one big bowl" philosophy. However, under market conditions and the flourishing of private enterprise, the lack of a clear-cut tax policy or any limits on income is dividing society into strata. Some strata—they are the majority as a rule—have only a bare minimum, while others (a minority) are growing rich without measure. A stratum of "Red millionaires" exists in China and is gradually growing. Yet, at the same time, the prestige of workers, engineering professions, and even scientists is falling. This is because they live, as a rule, on a fixed and very low wage.

Peasants have benefited most from the reform. Thanks to the contract on land, the increase in purchase prices, and the high level of labor intensification, peasants have been earning quite a high income. Thus, in Guangdong Province, as Mayor Zhu Senglin of Guangzhou, first secretary of the Guangzhou party committee, told us, the income of peasants in 1987 was 903 yuan per person per year as against 250 yuan in 1978 (an increase of 260 percent). That is why peasants' lives have considerably improved. During the sad period of the "people's communes," they and their families essentially lived in barracks, buildings which could hardly be called housing. Now they often live in two- and three-story houses full of modern furniture, domestic appliances, a television, and radio equipment, and have a motorcycle.

We visited the home of one such peasant in Maqiao District (near Shanghai). His name was Xie Zuchen. He lives in a new house alongside an old one. There are nine rooms for eight people. His son, daughter, and grandson were in the process of moving to a new apartment during our visit. The house has a two-compartment refrigerator, a washing machine, two televisions, tape recorders, and good furniture. The family's income in 1987 was 20,000 yuan—400 percent more than a dozen years ago. Xie's position is considerably "above average."

However, even in the countryside there are special problems that are by no means simple. Although land lease terms are constantly being increased, peasants are very reluctant to put their own money into expanding production, buying new equipment and fertilizers, or land reclamation. They often prefer to spend money on the "good life," put some into the bank and "live on the interest," and put some in a "money box" for a "rainy day." What is going on here? I may be wrong, but I think that it is to do with the mentality of the peasants, who have distrusted the authorities for centuries and over whom the sinister specter of the "rainy day" has hovered for hundreds of years.

It is by no means accidental that larger-scale forms of farming are being created in the countryside. In Maqiao District, there is already a cooperative with 100 hectares of land (by local standards that is a lot) and several cooperatives 20-30 hectares in size.

The economic reform in China is being hampered by the backwardness of the control system and of legal support. These lag behind the development of the socialist market. A new law and order system is being developed

along with a new market control system. This is a difficult but necessary task. Socialism and socialist democracy, which both we and the Chinese are expanding, deepening, and developing, are inconceivable without legality, accounting [uchet], and controls.

One other drawback to the Chinese economy is inflation. In the 1st 4 months of this year alone, it has been running at 10 percent. Foodstuffs account for 60 percent of the total inflation. Increasing production efficiency, labor productivity, and resource saving, cutting costs together with prices, further saturating the market with goods, and raising [as published] wages are the ways to overcome inflation.

Are there not many drawbacks in the restructuring of the Chinese economy?

At first glance, there do seem to be rather a lot. But, I would emphasize, only at first glance. The results of the reform have been striking.

Take just one year, 1987.

Last year's GNP was 1,092 billion yuan, compared with 946 billion yuan in the previous year. Growth was 9.4 percent against a planned rate of 6.4 percent. Industrial production developed proportionately, at a high rate. The volume of industrial production rose by 16.5 percent over the year.

Production of chemical fertilizers and pesticides grew by more than 22 percent over the year. Production of consumer goods rose sharply, and their quality improved.

Growth was recorded in agricultural production. Grain production was 402.4 million tonnes, or 10.9 million tonnes more than the previous year; cotton production was 4.19 million tonnes, or 650,000 tonnes more. The situation with sugar is worse. As a result of low purchase prices for sugar cane, sugar production is not only not growing, but is falling. There is a shortage of sugar in China, although it is not used to make moonshine, as in the case in our country. Measures are being taken to increase sugar production.

"Sticking Two Heads Outside" [subhead]

China's domestic economic reform is indissolubly linked with its foreign economic policy. The 13th CPC Congress and the 1st session of the NPC, 7th Convocation, having adopted a number of resolutions to promote the further deepening and development of the reform, adopted decisions on the "strategy for developing coastal regions." These regions have been declared "open" and free for inflows of foreign capital, equipment, and technology. A zone of "an outward-looking economy" is to cover the entire Chinese seaboard—an area of 320,000 square km with a population of more than 160 million people. Fourteen major cities and ports such as Tianjin, Shanghai, and Guangzhou have been declared "open." A special Chinese province—Hainan, which has been declared an entirely open zone—has been set up.

In the early eighties, four "special economic zones" (Shenzhen, Zhuhai, Xiamen, and Shantou) were set up, where particularly favorable conditions for foreign investment were created.

Just what is the aim of developing foreign economic ties and creating zones of an "outward-looking economy" and "special economic zones"?

The Chinese are striving to obtain outside funds for the development of the Chinese economy, open the way for the latest equipment and technology to enter the country, penetrate foreign markets, and make their mark on the world economy—as they themselves put it—by "sticking two heads outside," that is, seeking not only investment sources and markets abroad, but sources of raw materials, semimanufactures, and components in order to process raw materials and assemble components and units into finished products using cheap Chinese skilled manpower. Above all, the cheapness of Chinese manpower is attracting foreign capital to China.

We visited one of these "special economic zones," in Shenzhen, Guangdong Province. Just 10 years ago, there were a few little villages in the zone housing 20-30,000 peasants. Now there is an ultramodern city of 800,000—500,000 of whom are permanent residents, the remainder being involved in construction work. The construction workers have come here from all corners of the country. They are building beautiful, modular, modern enterprises, skyscrapers, international-class hotels, and modern roads with overpasses and intersections. There are 118 apartment blocks in the city more than 18 stories high.

The zone is extensively open to foreign capital. There are different forms of ownership here—state, cooperative, individual, mixed, and purely foreign. These forms compete, which produces good results.

The economy of Guangdong Province is growing rapidly. Whereas in 1979 the value of the output produced here was 60 million yuan, in 1987 it was over 8 billion yuan. Growth has been simply fantastic—120 times. Profits have grown, too, from 2 million to 100.1 million. Wages have also increased. In 1979, each worker earned 56 yuan per month; in 1987, the figure was 250 yuan.

It is curious that whereas before 1982 people from the PRC sought refuge in Hong Kong, now Hong Kong people are seeking refuge in People's China.

We visited Shekou—a special border region—and went to the very border. We even touched it. The point is that this is an unusual border: just a wire fence without any barbed wire, guard towers, or so forth. There is a customs post, and people were crossing the bridge over Lake

Moku. Some were going to Hong Kong (Xianggang in Chinese), others to the PRC. In places the border is a white line down the middle of a narrow street in a border town. It is a calm and peaceful border.

As of July 1997, Hong Kong will acquire the sovereignty of People's China. The PRC is preparing to worthily and honorably take the "new territories" to its bosom. The PRC promises to change nothing in Hong Kong, either in politics or the economy, for 50 years.

China is traveling a complex and difficult path of economic reform and expansion of external ties. This needs boldness and a realization that there is no alternative. There is no need to fear mistakes.

This was well put by Deng Xiaoping during his talk on 24 May this year with a delegation from the U.S. Manhattan Bank: "I constantly encourage my comrades to be bolder because China only has one way out: by further deepening reform and the policy of expanding ties with the outside world. Those who work boldly cannot avoid mistakes. We must allow ourselves to make mistakes. As soon as a problem appears, it must be investigated as quickly as possible, and if a mistake has been made, it must be rectified so as to prevent small mistakes from growing into big ones.

"I believe that at this complex time it is very hard to avoid mistakes, and this means that we must be even bolder...!"

Looking to the Future [subhead]

The history of relations between the USSR and the PRC is colored in different hues. There have been both dark and bright periods in this history, and probably more bright than dark. Our country helped the "Chinese Red Army" against the Kuomintang, and Marshal Blyukher acted as adviser to the Chinese Reds. Later, when China was combating Japanese aggression, General Chuykov, the legendary hero of the Battle of Stalingrad, was adviser to the patriotic forces. On 9 August 1945, the crack troops and guards who had crushed the Hitlerite fascist forces in the West were transferred to the Far East. They helped the Chinese people by routing the million-strong Kwantung Army.

Then came years of fruitful cooperation—with our participation, dozens of enterprises, which still form the basis of Chinese industry, were created here. True, many of them need to be fundamentally modernized.

Then suddenly there was a sharp deterioration in Soviet-Chinese relations. The reasons behind this were complex and involved. Judging by everything, both sides were to blame, although I will not take it upon myself to judge which was more blameworthy. It is indisputable, however, that a considerable role in this was played by N.S. Khrushchev. There is a dual attitude to him in China. He is known here as an enemy of the Stalin cult, a great reformer, and someone who regularized and normalized Soviet-U.S. relations. The Chinese consider his great mistake to be the fact that he sanctioned the abrupt withdrawal from China of Soviet specialists—the very people who had picked up postwar China and helped it become a modern industrial power. The recall of the Soviet specialists wounded the hearts and minds of the Chinese people. They found themselves in an economically grave situation. No less than 156 enterprises had been built with our help in the 1st Chinese 5-Year Plan. Hundreds of new industrial projects were postponed for a future date. And the entire gigantic machine was slowed right down. At the cable plant in Shanghai mentioned previously, more than 100 highly skilled specialists and workers were recalled in the space of a few days. To this day the people at the plant still feel bitter and hurt about those "few days."

Soviet-Chinese relations have been revitalized. They are on the up and up.

I met with Chinese journalists three times. First in Beijing, then in Shanghai, and then, on the eve of my departure, in Beijing again. The meetings lasted 2-3 hours. We could have talked longer, but our rigid timetable did not permit it. My meeting with Tian Weiru, chief editor of RENMIN RIBAO, was long and good-natured.

The Chinese are enormously interested in the processes taking place in our country, first and foremost, in restructuring. They want to know what the essence of restructuring is and what its aims and means are. They want to know whether restructuring is reversible and whether there are guarantees that it is not. They want to know what the obstacles, difficulties, and contradictions are impeding restructuring and whether there are contradictions about restructuring within the CPSU Central Committee leadership.

It was quite hard to answer some of these questions. But my answer was exceptionally clear. There has been no debate within CPSU leading organs about whether or not restructuring is necessary. Everyone there is unanimous: Restructuring is necessary. There is no alternative to it.

But disputes, debates, and sometimes heated battles at the very "top" are being conducted about the timetable for and pace of restructuring, the ways, means, and methods of its implementation, and the resolution of specific problems. Take the price reform, for instance. A great deal has been said about this; there have been arguments, but... the question has been postponed for more thorough study. I think that this question will be resolved on a scientific basis, on the basis of the principle of justice.

Our relations with China are developing along state lines and along the lines of the revival of economic, scientific, technical, cultural, sports, and similar ties.

Trade and economic relations are based on an intergovernmental agreement covering 1986-1990. Trade turnover between our countries amounted to R1.4 billion in 1987 and will be R1.8 billion in 1988. Border trade is developing: It doubled in 1987 and last year amounted to R50 million. This year contracts have been signed for the delivery of sets of equipment to the PRC and the implementation of plans to modernize 25 of China's biggest industrial projects.

Specialists visit each other and sportsmen vie with each other to see who can run faster, jump higher, and throw further and more accurately. The countries are demonstrating their painting, dances, and songs to each other.

Yet regarding our political and party relations, things are considerably more complex. These relations have still not been normalized. Why is that? The reason lies in the preliminary conditions the fulfillment of which is, in the Chinese side's opinion, a prerequisite for the normalization of these relations. These three conditions were not mentioned to us in China. People talked only about one condition—the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia. But this is not our issue. This issue concerns Vietnam and Cambodia. Let them reach agreement about everything themselves. We did not send the Vietnamese volunteers into Cambodia, and it is not in our power to recall them. At the same time, we are highly satisfied with Vietnam's intention to withdraw 50,000 of its volunteers from Cambodia before the end of this year.

Russians say that a bad example is infectious. We also think that a good example is infectious. We are withdrawing our troops from Afghanistan. The Vietnamese, it seems to me, are following our good example by gradually withdrawing from Cambodia.

To return to Soviet-Chinese relations again. Here in China there is no rush to improve these relations in the political and party spheres. The Chinese want to improve them, but slowly, gradually, and—as the Chinese leader once said—with "small steps." The same idea was expressed in a different form by the people with whom I spoke.

One of them said: "Our relations are a large ice floe that does not melt in 1-2 months or a year. Let us wait for this ice floe to melt." But why wait? Let us "warm up" this ice floe and let it melt faster.

The second said: "A drop of water can wear away a stone." True, but the question is, what kind of water and what kind of stone? After all, the stone separating our countries is not that solid. It can be destroyed, especially since the water eating away at this stone (the need to improve Soviet-Chinese relations) is strong.

The third said: "It is not a question of where you are but of where you are going." I agree that we have embarked on some stage of our relations. But were are we going? Only toward the improvement of our relations. We are two great socialist countries. We have a single aim, a single task: to improve socialism, to make it truly humane, and to enhance our democracy. This is where we are going, both in the Soviet Union and in China.

The fourth said: "We will not present each other with a bill for the past. Let us look to the future."

I completely agree with this. Let us look to the future.

Academician Titarenko on Soviet, Chinese Reform

OW1406195988 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to Asia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 13 Jun 88

[Text] As the progress of the Soviet economic reform is accelerated and as the reform in China is firmly established in its national economy, more and more people in our two countries become greatly interested in mutual experiences. This is completely understandable. For years the two countries have lived under the conditions of hostility and separation. When the process of normalization of relations begins, people naturally wish to better understand each other. However, it is not only this. Some people in both the Soviet Union and China have often pointed out this keen interest in mutual experiences because, first of all, the tasks and objectives of the economic reform in our two countries are the same. At present the political and social activists, as well as those in the academic and financial circles, in both the Soviet Union and China, publish their views, articles, and academic theses in the mass media on the situations of reform in the two countries, their similarities and differences, almost every day. More than once, Radio Peace and Progress has discussed in its broadcasts the sitution in this respect. Today we invited Titarenko, chairman of the All-Union Sinologists Association and director of the Far East Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, to express his views on this matter. Titarenko visited China not long ago. The following is a recorded talk by him:

[Begin Titarenko recording] In spite of great differences existing in the reform in China and in the Soviet Union, there are quite a number of similarities between them. From the end of 1970's until now, the comrades in China have carried out reform for 10 full years. China's reform is two-thirds ahead of us in terms of timing. [Words indistinct] the difference in the time of getting started cannot be mechanically [word indistinct] to the achievements. We cannot say that because China has spent a longer time than us in carrying out reform, its achievements are proportionately greater. Such a ratio does not exist because there are great differences in the foundations for reform and in calculating the starting point between the two countries. As a matter of fact, in my opinion, what is of more significance is the principle observed by the two countries, rather than seniority in carrying out reform.

During our conversations, the Chinese comrades have emphatically pointed out that, while carrying out reform, they have carefully studied the experiences of every socialist country in economic reform, including those of the new Soviet economic policy. In this respect, they particularly pointed out the theory and significance of the works by Bukharin. China published Bukharin's works 5 years before the Soviet Union rehabilitated him. Our Chinese comrades used Bukharin's works on socialist commodty economy as well as some of his methodologies.

The main task of China's economic reform is, first of all, to make the whole socialist economic system yield the best results by improving the economic management system that used to depend on administrative order and by establishing a method of operation and management that uses economic leverage. To accomplish this task, they have to overcome the phenomenon of neglecting the function of the law of value under socialist conditions that has existed in China for a long time; at the same time, they have to establish what the Chinese economists call socialist commodity production. Thus, they call for a fundamental reform of the entire economic mechanism by earnestly [words indistinct] the whole planning and organization of reform as well as the systems of pricing, wages, and cadres training and promotion. It goes without saying that this is a very serious matter. The reform that we are implementing now also has such tasks. Therefore, I feel that similarities exist in our two countries regarding solutions for the above problems. [end recording]

You have just heard the first portion of a talk by Titarenko, director of the Far East Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Its theme deals with the similarities and differences of reform in the Soviet Union and in China. Please tune in for the second portion of his talk at the same time tomorrow.

Official on Economic Cooperation With China

OW1406202088 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 12 Jun 88

[From special program: "Taking the Road of Friendship and Cooperation"]

[Text] Please listen to the following remarks made by (Febolinskiy), a [words indistinct] of the State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations:

The third meeting of the Soviet-Chinese Committee on Economic, Trade, and Scientific-Technological Cooperation closed in Beijing a few days ago. The meeting discussed issues on further strengthening and improving relations between the two nations. At the closing of the meeting, the two governments signed protocols on establishing Soviet-Chinese joint ventures and on developing direct relations between [word indistinct] and oblasts of various Soviet republics and China's various provinces and autonomous regions.

(Febolinskiy) said: The Soviet Union and China have engaged in wider and more diversified economic cooperation. I would like to mention the following examples: A document signed with the Liaoning economic delegation in the RSFSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 8 June pointed out that it is highly possible for [words indistinct] oblasts, and enterprises in RSFSR to develop economic, scientific, and technological cooperation with Liaoning Province. To this end, the two sides decided to promote exchanges of commodities, investigate the workability of establishing jointly operated ventures, hold exhibitions of each other's export commodities, and probe and study various new industrial technologies.

(Febolinskiy) added: [Words indistinct] the talks between experts from the two nations on the Soviet Union's offering loans in kind to China to build a railway from Usu City to Alataw Shankou in Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region. Chinese experts told their Soviet counterparts that the railway was expected to be finished in 1991 and opened to traffic in 1992. The railway will link with the railway between Druzhba and (?Aktogay) on Soviet soil. The last round of the talks is slated to be held in the near future. Talks were also held with Chinese [word indistinct] on the electrification of a 300-km railway between Lanzhou and Wuwei. In addition, according to a certain design and research institute, a large part of equipment needed by China can be produced by Soviet plants. The talks on this issue will be held in 2 months. Another cooperative project of mutual benefit in the field of transportation might be the subway in Guangzhou. The Soviet side might build a section of the subway and conduct some surveys and tests. Soviet experts have reached a preliminary agreement with leaders of the Preparatory Committee of the Guangzhou Subway on the issue.

In conclusion, (Febolinskiy) said: These changes alone can prove the great potential for Soviet-Chinese economic cooperation.

Liaoning Economic Delegation Visits Soviet Union

Tours Baykal Region

LD1406205688 Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 14 Jun 88

[Text] An economic delegation from the Chinese Province of Liaoning has crowned its tour of the Soviet Union with a visit to the Baykal region. In the city of Chita, the guests discussed the prospects for direct trade, economic, scientific and technological cooperation between their home province and the Chita region. The delegation leader, Zheng Silin, has told newsmen the visit has revealed large-scale opportunities for mutually beneficial links in various areas.

Talks Summed Up

OW1406165788 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 13 Jun 88

[Text] Listeners: We earlier reported that China's Liaoning delegation had ended its visit to Blagoveshchensk, USSR. During its stay in the city, members of the delegation and their Amur Oblast counterparts discussed questions on economic, trade, scientific, technological, and cultural relations between Liaoning and Amur Oblast. (Koleokiykov), a reporter of the Amur broadcasting station, interviewed (Siymochi), deputy chairman of the executive council of Amur Oblast, and Zheng Silin, head of the Liaoning delegation.

(Siymochi) said: The Shenyang Foreign Economic Relations and Trade Company presented some proposals to us. For example, it was very much interested in cooperation in printing and in establishing joint ventures. In friendly talks, we decided that we would learn something concrete about its export business and engage in more concrete discussion on questions regarding trade, economic, and technological cooperation. We are prepared to engage in barter trade and are interested in China's consumer goods, children's commodities, and fruit. We will purchase some technologies and equipment. We were satisfied with the results of the talks, and we hope that further efforts will be made to develop relations.

Zheng Silin, head of the Liaoning economic delegation, made the following remarks on the results of the Blagoveshchensk talks: The visit by the Liaoning economic delegation to the Amur area in the RSFSR was aimed at exploring possibilities of economic and technological cooperation with the Soviet Union. Despite our short visit, we received a warm welcome from all quarters in the Soviet Union. We engaged in successful talks on trade, economic, and technological cooperation. We believe that there is a strong potential and very good prospects for our future cooperation. We decided to hold a second meeting in the near furture so that we can further discuss views on which we agreed in principle with each other, and take concrete action. We believe that the two sides will soon be able to attain more concrete achievements, and I hope this can be realized at the earliest date.

Harbin Economic Delegation Visits Khabarovsk

OW1406192788 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 8 Jun 88

[Excerpts] Dear listeners, a delegation from the Harbin Foreign Economic Relations and Trade Corporation of the PRC has ended its visit to the Khabarovsk Cooperative. This was not their first visit. Both sides understand well the present situation and various possibilities. We can also see the trend of development in trade and cooperation through this visit. If earlier contracts were not very big, the latest one is more important because its amount of value reaches 40 million Swiss francs. According to both sides' view, this will not be limit on their trade.

Station reporter (Kofton) in Khabarovsk has interviewed (Li Neixiang), general manager of the corporation in Harbin and head of the delegation.

[Begin (Li Neixiang) recording] It has been 10 days since our delegation came to Khabarovsk City. During the past 10 days, due to efforts by both sides and attention and support from leading comrades at various levels in Khabarovsk and Harbin, we have achieved relatively good results. Both sides are convinced that this is just a beginning. The fact that we can achieve such good results at the beginning shows that the prospects for cooperation in the future will be much broader. We are willing to make efforts to reach this goal.

Concerning trade, the Chinese side at this time mainly exports machinery equipment, food products, and light industrial products. Basically, we export the aforementioned three categories of commodities to the Soviet side. The Chinese side mainly imports construction and other needed materials. The structure of trade seems beneficial to both sides. [passage omitted]

Generally speaking, reform is being deepened and developed in a more extensive manner in China. Regarding your question on changes in our corporation in the course of reform, I can simply say that our country has given our corporation more power in order to enable us to further develop economic and trade cooperation with various countries and peoples in the world. We have introduced this to your delegation during our talks. The common impression of our delegation is that Khabarovsk is a very beautiful city which is quite fresh and is a green city during summer. We also have a deep impression about the people in this city. omrades are all working very hard. They have a high level of education. In short, everything is very good. We hope that Khabarovsk will further develop and prosper and make progress step by step. On the other hand, I am a businessman and do not quite understand all other things. However, I always feel that, as neighbors, we should live in harmony and do our best to build our own countries. [end recording]

Border Trade Pact Signed With Tongjiang County

OW1406142088 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMTG 13 Jun 88

[Text] Border trade is expanding between the Soviet Union and China. Recently, a district of Khabarovsk signed a new trade agreement with China's Tongjiang County. In accordance with this agreement, the Soviet side will export lumber, cement, and washing machines to China, while the Chinese side will export piece goods, footwear, and fruit to the Soviet Union. In addition, the two sides agreed to exchange experience in agriculture.

After returning from China, head of the Soviet delegation, Ivanov, said that what he saw in China indicated that the Chinese people wish to maintain friendly relations with the Soviet people.

Translator Ge Baoquan Receives Soviet Award

PM1406141788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Jun 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general rubric: "Official Reports"]

[Text] Ge Baoquan, the Chinese literary critic and translator, has been awarded the Order of the Friendship of Peoples for his great contribution to strengthening Soviet-Chinese cultural cooperation and his services to the popularization of Russian and Soviet literature and in connection with his 75th birthday. This Soviet award was presented to the guest from the PRC at the USSR Writers Union in Moscow on 7 June.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Commentary Views Talks in Jakarta on Cambodia

BK1406121388 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1330 GMT 13 Jun 88

[Commentary by station observer Valentinov]

[Text] The Jakarta meeting has long been delayed. After thorough consideration, it seems that this meeting will certainly be held. At least, all those who have been invited by the Indonesian Government to attend this meeting have already accepted the invitation. This includes the four Cambodian factions—the PRK Government and the opposition groups of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, former Prime Minister Son Sann, and the Khmer Rouge.

The first stage of this meeting will be attended by these four factions and later on it will be attended by representatives of Indonesia, Thailand, Vietnam, and Laos. This informal meeting is aimed at seeking ways to settle the Cambodian problem through political means, through which stability will be restored in the whole of Southeast Asia.

We in the Soviet Union are placing our concrete hope on the Jakarta meeting, giving it an important significance and [words indistinct] surrounding a most tragic problem in Southeast Asia. In our opinion, one of the other successful ways is the resumption of the dialogue between Cambodian government leader Comrade Hun Sen and Samdech Norodom Sihanouk. Two rounds of these talks which took place in France have taken firm root for clearer mutual understanding. It is certainly regrettable if such a good opportunity is let go, especially when the situation has changed tremendously following the second round of these talks.

At the end of May this year, the SRV and PRK Governments announced a new important decision to the effect that Vietnam will withdraw as many as 50,000 volunteer combatants from Cambodia by the end of this year. This is half of the total number of Vietnamese troops currently in Cambodia. Therefore, the many disagreements pushed forward by Samdech Sihanouk regarding the Vietnamese troop withdrawal plan seem to be disappearing automatically.

What is really very important to the developments around the Cambodian problem is the Soviet-Thai summit held in Moscow in May. At that time, Thai Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanon said that the Geneva agreement on Afghanistan has pointed out the way for the settlement of other regional problems, such as the Cambodian conflict. He highly valued the contribution made by the Soviet Union in the search for a solution to the Cambodian problem and noted that this contribution would always receive a positive response from the ASEAN countries.

Finally, new prospects have prevailed through the change in the Chinese attitude. As stated lately by representatives of the PRC, China has stopped its previous demands that Pol Pot be allowed to return to power in Phnom Penh. In our opinion, this Chinese statement is very important, and we hope that this statement will help to alleviate the remaining barriers in the conflicting situation around Cambodia in such a way that the interests of all Cambodian factions are preserved.

The Soviet Union has now been exchanging views with China regarding the Cambodian problem. The latest events are grounds for us to hope that appropriate meetings between China and Vietnam will certainly resume. Our unchanging stance is that the two countries should review all problems affecting their interests through direct talks. As repeatedly stated by the Vietnamese leadership, Vietnam is ready for direct contacts with the PRC.

In other words, everything seems to be making progress. Joining the bandwagon are big powers who, in our opinion, are in a position to soon bring about fairly significant developments concerning the Cambodian problem.

Near East & South Asia

Afghan Withdrawal Reportedly on Schedule

Gromov Comments Cited

PM1506103588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Jun 88 First Edition p 5

[Unnamed "Our Correspondent" report: "Peace to You, Gardeyz!"]

[Text] Yesterday morning, 10 June, the inhabitants of Gardeyz—the administrative center of Paktia Province—saw off the internationalist soldiers of the 56th airborne unit [unit not further identified].

The city of Gardeyz is clearly visible from the Sataw-Kandaw Pass: The low clay houses surrounded by mud walls seem tiny. From here the airstrip surrounded by neat rows of modern buildings can be seen. This is the Soviet military encampment where airborne troops and helicopter pilots lived for 8 long years. Now the encampment is half empty: The helicopter pilots recently flew home to the motherland in their helicopters. Now it is the turn of the airborne troops.

Here in Paktia Province, as in many other provinces in the country, the Afghans know our soldiers not only as defenders of their homes. Province Governor Barakzay told Soviet journalists that not a single "khoshar"—voluntary labor day for the benefit of the revolution—passed without the participation of the airborne troops. On the joint subbotniks, the city and airfield were provided with amenities and the road between Gardeyz and Ghazni was rebuilt, and a Friendship Avenue was laid. On the stony, infertile land where the hot Afghan wind daily raises clouds of earth and sand, it requires a great deal of labor to grow even one tree, but here hundreds of trees cast welcome shade on the stony soil. And this avenue of poplars is also a fine souvenir of our assault forces.

"We are leaving, but friendship, reinforced in combat, remains," Lieutenant Colonel A. Yurchuk, a political worker, tells me. "Everything which was built by us over these years has been passed on to our Afghan friends free of charge. We are leaving 32 officers' and soldiers' hostels, canteens, a bathing and laundry combine, a bakery, and a first aid unit with all the equipment. In all we handed over barracks and housing stock, complexes, furniture, and equipment worth more than R10 million to our friends . This will be of great assistance to the residents of Gardeyz, which suffered during the undeclared war...."

On the eve of the withdrawal of the Soviet garrison from Gardeyz, I met with Hero of the Soviet Union Lieutenant General B. Gromov, commander of the limited contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan. The commander is now busier than ever with work on the troops withdrawal. He also has many party concerns—Boris Vsevolodovich has been elected delegate to the 19th all-union party conference. In a short interview Lieutenant General B. Gromov noted: "In the first 4 weeks after the Geneva agreements came into force, tens of thousands of men with combat equipment and arms have already been withdrawn from Afghanistan. Our troops have all left the provinces of Nangarhar and Ghazni, and now they are leaving Paktia Province. In a word, we are adhering strictly to the schedule for withdrawing our units and subunits agreed between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan. By 15 August this year, as is known, more than half of all the units of the limited contingent will withdraw. The withdrawal of all the troops according to the agreement signed in Geneva will be completed over a period of 9 months, by 15 February next year. But this is on condition that all the sides participating in them will take an equally precise, consistent, and responsible approach to the Geneva agreements, like the Soviet Union and Afghanistan.

...And now the growing rumble of hundreds of combat vehicles and armored carriers is heard over the military encampment. Decorated with flowers and red calico, the convoy begins its farewell march through the Afghan land. "Peace to you, Gardeyz!" is written in Russian and Dari on the side of one of the combat vehicles. This is the wish conveyed to the city inhabitants by our airborne forces, who only yesterday were defending their homes.

Soviets Leave Border Zone

LD1406170688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 14 Jun 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] The last Soviet military unit today left the Afghan-Pakistani border zone.

[Begin M. Leshchinskiy videorecording] This column of the guards assault formation has travelled almost 700 km from the southern town of Gardeyz to the Soviet border. The servicemen traveled night and day through mountain passes, where in the desert sand dunes they carried out their last combat order on Afghan soil. This road passes not only through a place, but through the soldiers' memories. The guards formation has been carrying out its combat service for over 8 years in the Afghan regions bordering Pakistan. The guards formation smashed armed formations committing banditry and terror against vitally important communications; ambushed caravan routes along which weapons were brought into Afghanistan from Pakistan; and performed the long, hard operation to lift the siege from Khowst. All of this has been added to the formation's combat history, which started back in the years of the last war. [video shows armored vehicles traveling along mountain raods and burned out vehicles littering the roadside; shots of Soviet soldiers garlanded and waving from their tanks to smiling civilians]

On the eve of the move, Colonel Yevnevich, the commander of the formation, and Governor General of Paktia Province Barakzay, signed documents on handing over to the Afghan side a military township with all services and stocks of food, fuel, and other material valuables. The elders, the most respected people of the province, were present. The seeing off ceremony for the assault guards completed the full withdrawal of the Soviet military group stationed in the east of Afghanistan in the border provinces of Nangarhar, Paktia, and Lowgar. [passage omitted] [end recording]

General Staff Officer Comments

LD1506095388 Moscow TASS in English 0937 GMT 15 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 15 TASS—"The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan goes in strict accordance with the timetable. Claims to the contrary are groundless", Bronislav Amelichev, colonel-general of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, commented, at the request of a TASS correspondent, on the arguments being spread by Western mass media to the effect that the timetable for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan was changed and some units even returned to the sites of their former deployment.

Those who set afloat such fabrications "pursue the goal of generating doubts in the sincerity of the Soviet Union's intentions to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan and the USSR's loyalty to the commitments assumed", the representative of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces holds.

Former POWs in Afghanistan Speak to Reporters

LD1306211388 Moscow TASS in English 1611 GMT 13 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 13 TASS—"Each day for prisoners is hell on earth, and we cannot, we should not sleep calmly until they all come back," these lines from one of the numerous letters sent by readers to LITERATURNAYA GAZETA were cited at a news conference here today on the subject of Soviet prisoners in Afghanistan by Oleg Prudkov, a member of the weekly's editorial board.

"We demand their immediate return home, to their relatives and friends."

Public committees for the return of the prisoners were being set up in New York and Moscow, Prudkov said. "Our readers suggest opening an account for voluntary donations to buy out the prisoners. An important role in mediatory endeavours could be played by the Russian Orthodox Church."

"As of today, 311 Soviet troops have been registered as missing," said Major General Valentin Khrobostov, deputy head of a department in the Main Political Administration of the Soviet Army and Navy. "We know that about one third of them died in action, an intensive search for the others has been under way.

"Many are in captivity on Pakistani territory. Their life is in jeopardy. Our government and the Soviet Army Command are doing everything possible to save the Soviet servicemen and learn about the destiny of every one of them."

Speakers at the news conference said that Soviet troops who had been taken prisoner and sent into Pakistan were subjected to abuse, blackmail and intimidation. They were being persuaded not to return home, told that once in the USSR they would be prosecuted.

"I want to state with full responsibility," Khrobostov said, "That this talk is downright lie. All lads will lead a normal working life on breaking out of captivity. They and their families will receive utmost care and attention."

Five former prisoners were present at the news conference held for Soviet and foreign journalists: Abdukholik Zhurayev, Garyadiy Charyev, Mukhamed Yazkuliev, Valeriy Didenko and Konstantin Metelkov.

Metelkov, a former anti-aircraft gunner who served in Kandahar Province, described how several months after being taken prisoner, he was transferred to a camp on Pakistani territory near Peshawar.

"Even under the threat of death by firing squad, we refused to fight against our troops," he said. "Later on, we were exchanged for six relatives of the head of the dushman camp.

"I work now as a mold operator at a home-building factory in the Gorkiy region. No one is going to prosecute or harass me in any other way," Metelkov pointed out.

'26th' Afghan Note on Pakistani Violations

LD1406233188 Moscow TASS in English 2023 GMT 14 Jun 88

[Text] Kabul June 14 TASS—The 26th note of the Afghan Ministry of Foreign Affairs was handed over to the U.N. observers' group in Kabul today in view of the violation of the Geneva accords by the Pakistani side, the BAKHTAR News Agency reported.

The document demands that an inquiry into the facts of the enumerated violations be made and that the leadership of the Republic of Afghanistan and the personal envoy of the U.N. secretary-general be informed of results of the inquiry.

Afghan Rebels Bomb Ministry of Education

OW1406055788 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2220 GMT 13 Jun 88

[From the "Novosti" newscast; correspondent A. Petrova video report from Afghanistan]

[Text] Almost every day, one can hear missiles exploding in the streets of Kabul. [video shows Petrova standing on a busy Kabul street] Subversive activities and terrorist acts continue. Almost from the very beginning, the armed opposition, with the aid of certain outside forces,

have continued in their attempt to destroy the Geneva accords. Today, we will tell you a story of one such subversive act which has a direct bearing on our film group.

The explosion was of such force that all the windows on every floor were knocked out. [video shows badly damaged multistory building] It took place only 15 minutes after we left the office of 'Abdulsamad Qayyumi, Afghan minister of education. We were preparing a report on the beginning of a new academic year. This is what we saw when we returned to film the aftermath of the explosion. [video shows damaged building, broken walls, destroyed furniture]

The enemy does not wish to listen to the voice of reason. To sow panic, to frighten and cause despair among the population, this is their goal. They entertain a particular animosity toward education. They feel a major danger here; they feel it is easier to deal with ignorant people. In the past, they have also brutally mistreated teachers and have destroyed schools.

Perhaps there is a certain rationale in the fact they selected a teacher to carry out this subversive act. His name is Bashir, a young man who recently graduated from a lyceum. [video shows a young man being led from a cell] According to the laws of the republic, he should have been called up into the Army. However, he deserted and ran away to Pakistan. There, everything went according to plan. Bashir quickly became the prize of the Islamic Union. [video shows Bashir speaking to Petrova in Afghan] The criminal recounted that a certain band leader, who is hiding in Kabul, gave him a package containing the time bomb which was made to look like a briefcase. He did not have any difficulty getting past the police guard at the Ministry of Education. He simply raised his arms containing the deadly package. No one paid any attention to him, but workers in the ministry were quick to notice a young man shuffling in the corridor, and they detained him. However, they were not able to prevent the explosion.

The holding jails are full of such patriots, or, as they call themselves, freedom fighters, and every one of them has more than one horrid crime behind him. [report ends with video showing jail block]

Pakistani 'Direct Support' of Rebels Condemned

LD1306154888 Moscow TASS in English 1511 GMT 13 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 13 TASS—TASS news analyst Valeriy Vavilov writes:

The Afghan Ministry for Foreign Affairs sent yet another note of protest to the U.N. observer mission in Kabul monitoring the observance of the Geneva accords. The note accuses Pakistan of violating these accords. This is already a 23rd such note since the Geneva accords entered into force, which was less than a month ago.

The facts cited in the notes, accurate, indicating the areas, the forces and means involved, the time of violations, prove that, having signed the Geneva accords, Islamabad has no intention of fulfilling them.

In violation of the Geneva accords which prohibit interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and provide for the liquidation of the very material base in Pakistani territory for waging the war against the Afghan people, Islamabad's interference, instead of ceasing, has been stepped up.

One can only describe as direct violating of the Geneva accords the fact that the headquarters of armed opposition groupings and their information and propaganda organs continue to operate in Pakistan. The centres training armed formations have not been liquidated, and continue to train the mujahids and to infiltrate them into Afghanistan. Massive arms shipments still flow widely from the storage facilities in Islamabad and Karachi into the bases of the Afghan opposition in Chitral, Landi Kotal, Parachinar, Teri Mangal and Chaman and thence they are delivered to the armed groups operating inside Afghanistan.

Such large-scale arms shipments operations, and this is precisely how one ought to describe these actions of the Afghan oppostiion, cannot of course take place without direct support from Islamabad. So what is at issue is not even a kind of a laissez faire policy but direct support by Islamabad of the armed groupings of the "Peshawar Seven" which is bent on deposing the lawful government in Kabul. Islamabad officials clearly nudge the Afghan opposition to step up armed operations against Kabul. "Be that as it may, we decided to give support to the Afghans", said the Pakistani President Ziaul Haq who described the Geneva accords as a "fig leaf".

And Islamabad is doing this dirty business, fanning the flames of war and contributing to the continuation of the fratricidal bloodshed. In this way Islamabad is effectively torpedoing the Geneva accords, is pushing the prospect of a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan into a blind alley, and acts in a manner conducive not to liquiddation but rather to a continuation and intensification of this bloody regional conflict.

Islamabad ought, finally, to understand that the blood of the new Afghan victims will also be on its hands, that Islamabad bears direct responsibility for the continuation of the bloodshed, and that the interests of the Pakistani people itself call for an end to interference and thus an end to the war.

Pakistani Leader Desires Quick Afghan 'Victory'

PM1506094388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jun 88 Morning Edition p4

[IZVESTIYA Press Service report: "Rabble-rousers From Islamabad"]

[Text] On 9 June, Pakistani President Ziaul Haq swore in his transitional government, which he himself has headed. Several days ago he dissolved the government of

M.K. Junejo, who had been prime minister since 1985. The press has said that one of the reasons for removing Junejo is that there are differences between the president and the prime minister, as well as a number of other ministers, on the question of Afghanistan.

This has been confirmed by Zain Noorani, former minister of state for foreign affairs, who is not part of the new cabinet of ministers. Z. Noorani told journalists that he lost his post because of differences with Ziaul Haq over Pakistan honoring the pledges it made when it signed the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan. REUTER has reported from Islamabad that the president's dissatisfaction with the stand taken by Z. Noorani and M.K. Junejo—which he felt was not tough enough—with respect to the legitimate Afghan Government was the main reason for their withdrawal from the Government.

So what is the attitude of Ziaul Haq himself? The facts show that the ruling Pakistani regime is trying to prolong the bloodshed in Afghanistan. This is shown, in particular, by the recent increase in arms transfers from Pakistan to Afghan territory and by measures to reinforce the armed groups operating in Afghanistan.

So why are the Geneva agreements, which were signed by Pakistani representatives, being flagrantly violated? An answer to this question is given by a close associate of B. Bhutto, leader of the Pakistan People's Party, who said: "Ziaul Haq wants to gain a victory in Afghanistan within 3 months, which is why he has once again taken the reins of government in his own hands."

According to PRESS TRUST OF INDIA, Ziaul Haq is trying to cast aspersions on the Soviet Union and does not care about the Geneva agreements at all. "The Geneva agreements, under which the Soviet Union has consented to withdraw from Afghanistan, are 'nothing more than a fig leaf,'" he said in an interview with the journal INSIGHT.

Statements like these do nothing for President Ziaul Haq's image. Or does the head of the Pakistani state intend to ignore the Geneva agreements and the norms of international law as well?!

The international community demands strict compliance with the Geneva agreements. At a meeting in New York, for example, between Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Afghan President Najibullah, the sides expressed concern at Pakistan's continuing breaches of the Geneva agreements. The Indian prime minister said that he fully shares the alarm voiced by the Afghan president regarding Islamabad's actions and warned Pakistan against this course. He stressed that only conscientious fulfillment of the Geneva accords will guarantee peace in Afghanistan and throughout the region.

Reduced PDPA Presence in Afghan Cabinet Noted

PM1406141988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
9 Jun 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent D. Meshchaninov report: "Afghanistan: Government Being Formed"]

[Text] Kabul—Muhammad Hasan Sharq, who has been instructed by Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan, to form a cabinet, has announced the proposed lineup of the country's new government and its program at a session of the National Assembly.

The cabinet is to be made up of 30 people. The names of the candidate ministers of national defense and Islamic affairs and endowment are to be announced later. A characteristic feature is that most of the proposed members of the future government are not members of the PDPA.

M.H. Sharq noted that the government's key tasks at the present stage are to uphold the country's national unity and territorial integrity and find a way out of the impasse of the fratricidal war through national reconciliation. Measures have been drawn up to restore and further develop the economy. Special attention is being focused on enhancing the Afghan people's living standards.

Touching upon the future government's foreign policy, M.H. Sharq stated that the Republic of Afghanistan will continue to favor the establishment of friendly relations based on mutual respect and noninterference with all states irrespective of their political system. The prime minister noted the unshakable nature of the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between the Afghan and Soviet peoples.

In accordance with the Constitution of the Republic of Afghanistan, the composition and the program of the cabinet will, after a debate, be approved by the lower house of the National Assembly, the Wolasi Jirgah. If it is given a vote of confidence, the country's new government will embark on the implementation of its duties within the next few days.

Leaders of New Afghan Parties Interviewed

PM1406134588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Jun 88 Second Edition p 4

[Own Correspondent V. Okulov report: "Difficult Path... Signs of the New in Afghanistan's Life"]

[Text] Kabul, June—The Republic of Afghanistan's Government is pursuing a policy of national reconciliation. This course, based on dialogue and cooperation among patriotic but politically diverse social forces, is winning more and more new supporters and leading to noticeable changes in the country's life. Quite recently new social groupings appeared here—the Afghanistan Peasant Justice Party (PKSA) and the People's Islamic Party of Afghanistan (NIPA).

The country's internal structure at the present stage is based on the multiparty system in the political sphere and a variety of forms [mnogoukladnost] in the economy. The state power structure enshrined in the country's new Constitution is gradually acquiring the features of coalition rule. The most important landmark on this path was the first session of the country's recently elected National Council (parliament), which met in Kabul. PKSA and NIPA representatives also took part in the National Council's meetings.

"The birth of a political party meets certain social needs. Clearly, the creation of the PKSA is no exception, is it?"

I was talking with 'Abdul Khakim Tavana, chairman of the PKSA. He is 35 years old with lively, intelligent eyes. His black moustache was tinged with gray. 'A.K. Tavana's life has not been easy. Born into a worker's family, he graduated from high school in Kabul. He has been a civil servant and a teacher. He spent 6 years after the revolution in jail. Why? Tavana phrased his answer to that question tactfully: There were ideological differences with the authorities.

What is more, they exist today, but times have changed. After the proclamation of the policy of national reconciliation, Tavana and several of his sympathizers created a new political organization in accordance with the July 1987 law on political parties.

"We consider that under Afghanistan's present conditions, the one-party system is unacceptable," 'A.K. Tavana is convinced. "In the past this led to the persecution of democratic forces which could have been the PDPA's allies in resolving creative tasks. Therefore, the main social need which led to the formation of the PKSA is the conviction that the country's progressive development is impossible with a one-party monopoly in our country."

"Another important feature," Tavana continued, "is the need to pursue the right agrarian policy in the country. Mistakes were made during the agrarian reform conducted until 1987 and the middle peasantry were put in a difficult position. But now that a sensible new law based on the principles of justice has been adopted on the regulation of land and water relations, our party supports its implementation."

"The PKSA's name enshrines the idea of peasant justice. What is that?"

"In our view it means," Tavana replied, "that there must be a complete end to the situation in which the feudal lords—who, according to the traditional figure, represented 2 percent of the country's population—owned 60 percent of the prime land. We believe that the majority of peasants in Afghanistan either own small amounts of land or are landless and that the party must rely mainly on them. Therefore, we support the agrarian reform. The important thing is to ensure that the reform continues using methods which correspond to our people's customs and the principles of Islam."

"What are the party's main aims?"

"The creation of an independent, developed Afghanistan. We support the ideas of the national democratic revolution, they reflect the interests of the majority of the people. However, it is not necessary to build a new society, as the PDPA proposes. We favor a developed, wealthy Afghanistan."

"What is your basis for cooperation with the PDPA?"

"A basis of national reconciliation and the desire to speed up the end of the fratricide and to distribute the land fairly. The PKSA supports an alliance of broad social forces within the framework of the National Front."

"How does the party assess the peace settlement prospects?"

"The majority of the population, including those who are now emigres, hope that if the Geneva accords are strictly fulfilled, they will bring the country nearer to peace. The point is to ensure that all the sides which took part in the settlement process fulfill them strictly and consistently. The Republic of Afghanistan and the USSR are setting a good example here, but you cannot say the same of Pakistan. I am convinced that 90 percent of the Afghans who left the country do not want to fight any more. They will return home just as soon as Pakistan lets them leave and stops using them as pawns in its selfish political game. The remaining 10 percent perhaps will not abandon the path of armed struggle. But they have different plans, after all—far removed from the aims of the motherland's prosperity. Our party will defend the interests of peace in the country.

"We are optimists," 'A.K. Tavana said as he took his leave. "I believe that we shall ensure the country's peaceful development by the cooperation of all patriotic forces."

I spoke next to the leader of another political organization—the People's Islamic Party.

Qari' 'Abdul Sittar Sirat, chairman of the NIPA provisional council, said: "I have devoted 35 of my 52 years to the study of religion...."

That is demonstrated by the fact that the title "Qari" is now a part of his name. That is the name given to a respected man who is an acknowledged expert and exegete of the Koran.

"The April Revolution erupted," my interlocutor continued. "The majority of the people wanted change. The question is: Why did some people take to the mountains with their weapons and others leave the country?

"I think," Sirat reflected, "there are several reasons here. I shall mention a few. Instead of directing events, the former leaders of the PDPA began to struggle among themselves. The revolution was a national democratic one but they put forward communist slogans—disregarding the country's conditions. This was a godsend for their opponents: They were able to turn many people against the authorities."

"What is the composition of the NIPA?"

"The party includes, of course, not only mullahs but also true muslims—both Sunnites and Shi'ites—representing various sections of the population. And the NIPA does not operate only on territory under government control."

"How do you view the state power's attitude toward religion?"

"Very positively. It is true that in the first stages of the revolution, as I have already said, its enemies were given grounds for talking about religious persecution. But prudence triumphed long ago. Here are just a few features taken at random from the overall picture. The state pays the salaries of 20,000 mullahs. The country has an Islamic scientific center and an Islamic university. An Islamic consultative council operates as part of the president's staff."

"How do you view Afghanistan's future?"

"As experience shows, the development of events in our country is hard to predict. But undoubtedly we support the country's constitutionally enshrined status as an independent, nonaligned, neutral state. We support the Geneva accords, whose precise implementation by all sides should finally rid it of external interference. The future peaceful Afghanistan will be friendly with all its neighbors, first and foremost with the Soviet Union. The USSR has given us fraternal support in good and bad times under all regimes.

"I support a peaceful Afghanistan," Sirat added. "But there is some distance still to travel. That path—the path of national reconciliation—is difficult, but there is no alternative...."

Navy's Komarov Discusses Soviet Gulf Role

PM1406132188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Jun 88 First Edition p 2

["Topical Interview" with Vice Admiral D. Komarov, first deputy chief of the Main Staff of the Soviet Navy, by correspondent Captain Second Rank S. Turchenko: "Watch in the Persian Gulf"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] [Turchenko] In the Persian Gulf the Iran-Iraq tanker war is not abating and the United States and other NATO countries are continuing to build up their naval armada. Our readers are aware from KRASNAYA ZVEZDA reports that four of our warships were until recently performing the task of protecting Soviet civilian shipping there. Has this number changed in connection with the worsening of the situation?

[Komarov] The situation in the Persian Gulf region is indeed still tense and has neared the point where there is a risk of the conflict developing into an international crisis situation. That is why the Navy ships have been forced to continue to perform the task of protecting Soviet civilian shipping. Despite the worsening of the overall situation in the Gulf region, today the number of these ships is virtually still at the same level. The escort ships' crews are continuing to serve there selflessly and are already enriched by the experience that they have acquired in this period of working in a conflict region.

[Turchenko] There have been reports in the press that Kuwait chartered three tankers from the USSR at the end of 1986 to ship oil through the Persian Gulf. Moreover, a large number of our vessels, which are fulfilling trading commitments with many littoral countries, pass through there. The USSR Navy has allocated just four warships for their protection. At the same time there are 7 Kuwaiti vessels under the U.S. flag in the Persian Gulf and they are protected by approximately 30 U.S. vessels. What is the reason for this discrepancy?

[Komarov] It is well known that after the Soviet ship "Ivan Korotev" was fired on by unidentified launches, the Soviet Union was forced to send a limited number of its warships to the Persian Gulf to ensure the security of our merchant shipping. The ships are not carrying offensive weapons designed to strike the shore. At present we consider the number of ships there now to be quite sufficient. The Soviet leadership has stated on several occasions that we advocate that no one apart from the countries of the region have ships in the waters of the Persian Gulf. We advocate the immediate withdrawal of all nonlittoral states' naval forces as the immediate task and the creation of naval forces under the UN flag. The United States declines our proposals and together with its allies has concentrated a large grouping of warships in the Gulf. I believe that this is explained not only by the task of protecting peaceful navigation, as these states try to convince world opinion, but also by the strategic thrust for the buildup of naval forces in this region.

At the same time we do not believe that the quantitative and qualitative characteristics of our forces in the Persian Gulf will not change in the future. We will follow attentively the development of the situation in the region and take the necessary steps to resolve only the tasks of protecting and defending vessels sailing under the USSR state flag.

[Turchenko] During my tour of duty in the Persian Gulf, I saw that some of our ships were inadequately prepared for operating in conditions of higher temperature and humidity. There are many deficiencies in the training for

the kind of combat activity typical of the region in question. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA wrote about this 15 January this year. Can you name the concrete measures which have been taken in this context?

[Komarov] Individual ships have indeed arrived in the Persian Gulf with no special equipment for navigation in a tropical climate. Therefore today in the light of the experience that we have obtained, we are upgrading ships' equipment with technical means and mechanisms, including air conditioners, in order to fulfill the tasks of protecting civilian shipping in a region with a hot humid climate such as the Persian Gulf.

We drew attention to the article in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA of 15 January this year and examined the questions raised therein. A great deal has been done since then on the organizational plane.

Fleets preparing to send their ships to the Indian Ocean zone have been set the task of improving their preparation in the light of the shortcomings previously detected and pointed out by the article. Certain criteria in the approach to the system of preparing ships and personnel for the types of combat activity characteristic of conditions in the Persian Gulf have been revised. Options for additional measures to improve the personnel's living and leisure conditions on land and sea are under examination.

[Turchenko] The Persian Gulf is now, perhaps, the only place where our Navy is performing its tasks in a war situation. Although as yet there seems to have been no situation where Soviet ships would have been forced to employ weapons, the personnel are nonetheless accumulating combat experience. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA raised the question of how this experience is not being put to good use during naval combat instruction on 26 February this year. What is your opinion on this question?

[Komarov] This question is a continuation of the preceding question. The situation there in the region where our ships are performing their combat tasks is indeed troubled and demands constant efforts, vigilance, and supreme combat readiness, and is drastically different from the situation in which the ships carry out daily combat training in their base areas.

We do not have enough experience of long periods at sea and use of ships in combat applicable to this region. It is important to bear in mind that the Soviet Union is not a participant in the armed conflict. Nevertheless, critical analysis of each day filled with dramatic events for the ships' crews in the situation of the unending Iran-Iraq war and the tanker war in the Persian Gulf gives us abundant food for thought and for seeking ways to eliminate the deficiencies that have been revealed and exposed both in ships' technical preparation and also in each crew member's professional ability to cope with acting in an emergency. Experience is being accumulated and the conclusions drawn from it are being implemented in all fleets. The ships' crews which have returned from the Persian Gulf to their bases share the experience they have accumulated and take an active part in training the personnel of the ships which it is planned to send to this region to resolve combat tasks.

Unfortunately, the fact that the author of the article "Tested in the Persian Gulf" (KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 26.2.28) [date as published] mentioned the existence even today on some ships of problems which have been pointed out before indicates that the valuable experience acquired in such complex conditions for our ships' combat activity and navigation is not being used and introduced in the fleets as promptly and effectively as the situation warrants. We are continuing to analyze the situation and have stepped up control to ensure that formation and fleet officials make full use of their knowledge and experience when preparing ships to fulfill tasks in the Persian Gulf.

[Turchenko] We have information to the effect that in 1987, a total of 14 seamen from ships fulfilling tasks in the Persian Gulf were awarded orders and medals. This is probably no more than in another formation engaged in combat training in ordinary conditions. Is this fair? On the other hand, the United States has established a special medal for those who have distinguished themselves in the Persian Gulf. There are also other substantial moral and material incentives. There is practically nothing singling out Soviet seamen performing tasks in the Persian Gulf from the rest of the Navy although they are risking their lives far from home and are in danger for long periods. Moreover they are rendering the state a great economic service by defending peaceful merchant shipping. Once again it is a question of social justice and the ability to stimulate the maximum potential of the human factor in a combat situation. What do you think about this?

[Komarov] You are evidently in possession of information which is not entirely fresh. Yes, the complex conditions and the specific nature of the fulfillment of tasks in the Persian Gulf necessitate what I would call consideration for our seamen. The Navy Command is considering this fact. The system of providing incentives for and encouraging our seamen in the region is constantly being improved and is dynamic. The servicemen from three minesweepers alone have been awarded the "For Combat Minesweeping" badge. On submission from the Navy Political Directorate, over 100 Komsomol members from ship crews have been awarded the Komsomol Central Committee "Military Valor" badge and the Komsomol Central Committee honorary certificate. At present additional measures, including submission for state awards, are being studied to provide moral and material incentives for personnel serving and successfully resolving tasks in the Persian Gulf.

Filatov Hails Results of Pan-Arab Algiers Summit

PM1406093188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Jun 88 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent Sergey Filatov dispatch: "Important Results"]

[Text] Algiers, 11 Jun—"A conference crowned with success"—that was how C. Klibi, general secretary of the Arab League, characterized the results of the extraordinary Arab summit at a news conference. Three days of intensive and at times difficult talks held behind closed doors in the Algerian capital are now over.

As is well known, the conference's main theme was the question of providing all-round support for the Palestinian uprising.

This is now the 7th month that the people's actions have been raging on the Israeli-occupied Palestinian lands. In a demonstration of solidarity with the insurgents, the participants in the conference unanimously advocated the provision of comprehensive diplomatic, political, and financial assistance to the Palestinian resistance movement. They demanded the immediate cessation of Israel's annexation of the Arab lands, the removal of the Israeli settlements there, the transfer of the West Bank and the Gaza strip to UN control for a limited transitional period, and the granting to the Palestinians of their inalienable legitimate rights, including the right to self-determination and the creation of an independent state.

The Arab leaders called on the UN Security Council to implement the necessary measures to maintain peace in the Near East. They urged the convening of an international conference under UN auspices with the participation of the five permanent members of the Security Council and all interested sides, including the PLO.

It is believed that the decisions taken will help to resolve the Near East conflict.

Even though the discussions centered on the Palestinian question, other urgent problems were broached and were reflected in the final communique.

U.S. policy in the Near East region was sharply criticized at the meeting. There was resolute condemnation of the U.S. support for Tel Aviv, which encourages it to commit new acts of aggression and flout human rights and obstructs the process of a peaceful settlement.

When discussing the Iran-Iraq conflict the conference participants unambiguously expressed their "complete solidarity" with Iraq and called for a peaceful settlement of the dispute on the basis of UN Security Council decisions.

Those are the conference's main decisions. What about its results? Probably the main result is the unanimous expression of solidarity with the Palestinians' struggle, the readiness to help them, and the support for a peaceful settlement of the Near East conflict within the framework of an international conference. All this serves to strengthen mutual understanding among the Arab countries.

I should like to mention one further point. Last year the Palestine National Council—the Palestinian parliament-in-exile—held a session in Algiers. It was a decisive stage in the unification of the Palestinians' ranks. Now Algiers has again been the venue of a meeting held in an atmosphere of unity in support for the Palestinians' just cause and their cohesion. Let us hope that this constructive beginning will be reflected in the approach to other problems, too.

RSFSR Foreign Minister Discusses Mideast

JN1306194588 Kuwait AL-ANBA' in Arabic 12 Jun 88 pp 1, 26

[By Salam Musafir]

[Text] Moscow—RSFSR Foreign Minister Vladimir Vinogradov has said that prospects for a Middle East settlement basically depend on achieving two indispensable conditions: Israeli withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories and the recognition of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination. He also praised the unified Arab stand achieved at the Algiers summit.

In an exclusive statement to AL-ANBA', Vinogradov said: We are confident that the Arabs will not concede their rights. They may suffer a temporary defeat or setback, but Israel will not be able to force the Arabs to surrender.

The high-ranking Soviet diplomat, who was the USSR ambassador to Egypt in the seventies, added: The Israeli Government should understand this fact very well. By rejecting reason and reality, this Government is undermining the future of its state and community. The Arab nation is big and has the advantage of a larger population. The Arab countries surrounded Israel. I am sure the Arabs will sooner or later lose patience, and this will have dire consequences on Israel.

He said that there are realistic forces in Israel that realize this. This is evident in the growth of Israeli public opinion and organizations calling for peace and recognizing the right of the Palestinian people to the establishment of their independent state. But, regrettably, the Israeli Government continues in its intransigence and stubborness, which definitely endangers the future of the state.

The Soviet diplomat said his country looks with satisfaction to the unification of the Arab stand, especially at the Algiers summit, which showed the Arab determination to close ranks and support the bold Palestinian uprising, which is accentuating the rejection of the occupation and calling for a just and comprehensive peace that guarantees the rights of the Palestinian people—an important element in any settlement. He added: As regards our stand vis-a-vis a settlement, it is firm and principled. Washington should change its stand and recognize the Palestinians' right to the establishment of their state.

Vinogradov said that the Moscow summit has resulted in the Americans' recognizing the need for convening an international conference on the Middle East and that there can be no solution without the participation of the Soviet Union. Washington, however, considers the international conference an umbrella for indlvidual deals—something we categorically reject. We also do not impose the form of the Palestinian participation in the conference. This is a PLO and, generally, an Arab affair.

Replying to a question on the stand regarding the concept of strategic balance between the Arabs and Israel, Mr Vinogradov said: I always think that the balance was, and still is, in favor of the Arabs. A quick look at the balance of power affirms this fact insofar as the size of population, the size and quality of arms, and the extend of the area are concerned. He added: I think our Arab friends should get rid of a false psychological condition that makes them feel that Israel is blockading the Arabs. The opposite is the true. If this feeling continues, it will give Israel a feeling of strength and pride. Here, I do not call for war, but I think that the current Israeli policy constitutes a constant threat to the Arabs. The Arabs will not yield to the conditions of the occupied and the aggressor. They will not surrender, because they have the right. He added: We support a peaceful solution that guarantees a balance of interests for all parties to the conflict, including Israel.

He described his country's policy in the Middle East as vital, seeking a speedy solution to the crisis of the region and to the Iraq-Iran war. Our relations with almost all the Arab countries are good and practical, and we seek to consolidate the independence and the social and economic development of these countries, he said.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Demichev Receives South Africa's Archbishop Tutu

LD1406104688 Moscow TASS in English 1032 GMT 14 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 14 TASS—"The Soviet people have always been and will be on the side of the right cause of South African patriots," said Petr Demichev, alternate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and first vice president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Today he received in the Kremlin Desmond Tutu, archbishop of the South African Anglican Church.

Petr Demichev said of the USSR's determination to support, in future too, the national liberation movement of African peoples and to promote the economic and social development of young African states. Expressing solidarity with the Sharpeville Six fighters for freedom of South African people who stand again in the shadow of death, he pointed out that the entire international community denounced the apartheid policy in South Africa.

Describing the South African situation as critical, Desmond Tutu pointed out that the church had become there one of the most effective opposition forces. It exposes violations of human rights in South Africa. The church comes out, the archbishop said, against the government's desire to isolate a part of the clergy and made it the racists' docile puppet.

Patriots do not doubt the outcome of their struggle. The international community denouncing unjust actions perpetrated in South Africa, is on their side. The church is for non-racial and democratic country where the black and the white could live in peace and equality.

Desmond Tutu expressed gratitude to Soviet people for the support of South African people in their struggle for justice and freedom.

Northern Ethiopia Situation Reportedly Worsening

EA1306120288 Moscow International Service in Somali 1600 GMT 12 Jun 88

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] In March this year the situation in northern Ethiopia worsened because of the intensified aggression by secessionists who are fighting to dismember the northern regions, which have always been part of Ethiopia. With help from foreign powers, the secessionists began their well-prepared attacks on Eritrea and Tigray at the beginning of spring. As usual, the secessionists chose to carry out their plan at a difficult time for the young republic of Ethiopia, at a time when drought has devastated many large regions of the country.

Millions of people living there are threatened with starvation. Most of these people are in the north. But the conspirators ignore the plight of these people while intensifying the war. In recent fighting with the secessionists, arms and considerable quantities of military equipment were captured from them, including M-16 automatic rifles made in the United States. This proves that the conspirators get extensive support from abroad. Eyewitnesses even say that carpets, refigerators, and tape recorders were found in the underground hideouts captured from the conspirators.

It is not surprising that many secessionist leaders refuse to forego such luxury even if it means shedding the blood of their brothers. As well as getting everything they need from those opposed to a united, revolutionary Ethiopia, they also do all within their power to prevent food reaching the starving people in the north.

Ethiopian leader Mengistu Haile Mariam has said that secessionist groups are responsible for the looming crisis in northern Ethiopia. The secessionists are mercenaries serving foreign powers. The so-called liberation war being waged by their leaders is their way of getting a lot of money from abroad. Thousands of compatriots inside the country support the call of the WPE [Workers Party of Ethiopia] that everything should be made available for the Armed Forces. Many people are being recruited into the Army. Vehicles carrying volunteers are heading for the north. The people of the country are joining the national police.

The Ethiopian nation wants to fight for the unity of its motherland.

Ethiopian Defense Council Begins First Session

PM1306155588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Jun 88 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Defense Council Session"]

[Text] Addis Ababa, 2 Jun—The first session of the Defense Council under the Government of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia was held here Wednesday under the chairmanship of Mengistu Haile Mariam, general secretary of the Workers Party of Ethiopia (WPE) Central Committee and president of Ethiopia. According to a ETHIOPIAN NEWS AGENCY report, it examined what is being done to implement the WPE Central Committee Eighth Plenum's decision on general mobilization in the country. It was announced in order to defend the unity and territorial integrity of Ethiopia in the face of actions by separatist groupings in the northern provinces of Eritrea and Tigray.

The Defense Council, set up on 14 May, also adopted a decision on practical measures to implement the State Council decree introducing a state of emergency in those provinces.

Supreme Soviet Cables Cameroon President

PM1406144588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Jun 88 Morning Edition p 1

[TASS report "Exchange of Cables"]

[Text] On the occasion of Paul Biya's reelection as president of the Republic of Cameroon, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has sent the Cameroon head of state a congratulatory telegram which expresses the hope that the cooperation between the two countries will be expanded in the interests of peace, security, and the peoples' development.

In a reply telegram P. Biya states appreciation for the congratulations and also expresses himself in favor of a further strengthening of the relations of friendship and cooperation between Cameroon and the USSR.

CPSU Delegation's Visit to Zimbabwe Reported

LD1406173188 Moscow TASS in English 1647 GMT 14 Jun 88

[Text] Harare June 14 TASS—Zimbabwe as the coordinator country of the Non-Aligned Movement welcomes the initiatives undertaken by the Soviet Union and the United States to reduce nuclear arms, and comes out in favour of complete elimination of nuclear weapons.

This was stated on Monday during a reception in honour of the visiting CPSU delegation by Didymus Mutasa, member of the Political Bureau, secretary for foreign affairs of the Zimbabwe African National Union—Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF), speaker of the House of the Assembly of the Republic of Zimbabwe.

Touching upon the situation in the south of Africa, the member of the Political Bureau of the ZANU-PF pointed out that there can be no peace there as long as the system of apartheid exists. This is why Zimbabwe urges the international community and, first of all, Western powers to apply mandatory sanctions against the Republic of South Africa. Didymus Mutasa voiced confidence that the CPSU delegation's visit would serve further to strengthen relations between the two countries.

In a reply speech the leader of the delegation, Ivan I. Skiba, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee, head of the Department of Agriculture and Food Industry of the CPSU Central Committee, assured Zimbabwe and other "Frontline" States of the Soviet Union's invariable support for their struggle for the final elimination of colonialism and racism in the south of Africa.

A protocol on cooperation between the CPSU and ZANU-PF was signed here today. It envisages, in particular, exchanges of party delegations, promotion of the development of relations between the peoples, governments, parliaments, and public organizations of the two countries, and consultations on matters concerning party work, domestic and foreign policies of the Soviet Union and Zimbabwe.

East Europe

PRAVDA on Nikonov Tour of Romanian Farms

PM1406101188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Jun 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meetings on Romanian Soil"]

[Text] Bucharest, 3 Jun—V.P. Nikonov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who is on a working visit to Romania, today visited Timis Judet.

There he familiarized himself with the enterprises of the Komtim [name as published] Agro-Industrial Complex. It is rightly called a meat factory. Its livestock units and other premises annually fatten 500,000 hogs and 30,000 head of cattle. All the produce is processed on site and dispatched to consumers. To achieve this the combine has the necessary enterprises equipped with modern equipment. The combine exports a considerable proportion of its output.

The secretary of the CPSU Central Committee asked in detail about the organization of production, as a result of which high output per worker has been achieved. Extensive use is made here of crossbreeding, and a closed, waste-free production cycle has been organized, which promotes the successful development both of the basic sector and of crop production. The output obtained from the fields is processed locally into mixed feed, whose use makes it possible to produce high animal weight gains. V.P. Nikonov made a high assessment of the combine's livestock breeders and lent his support to a proposal from Director F. Carpanu to establish direct ties with Soviet agro-industrial formations.

The meetings and talks with scientists and specialists from the Pedigree Cattle Scientific Production Institute in Corbeanca Commune were devoted to the expansion and deepening of mutually advantageous Soviet-Romanian ties. Here V.P. Nikonov asked about the embryo transplantation and genetic engineering work in the area. This is one of the most promising avenues for boosting the productivity of dairy and meat stockraising. Definite experience of cooperation in this area has already been accumulated in the socialist countries, and this must be expanded and deepened.

During a visit to the 30 December Sovkhoz, which is closely related in terms of production structure and organization to Soviet agro-industrial combines, the guest familiarized himself with the activity of processing shops, particularly the green vetch processing complex. The secretary of the CPSU Central Committee noted that the experience of setting up such small plants is useful for us too, since the urge to create large combines leads to excessive expenditure on the transportation of raw materials and to large losses of fruit and vegetables on farms.

The sovkhoz's greenhouses were of interest. They are heated by solar batteries and methane gas produced from processing the waste products of livestock units. Large savings of power and fuel are achieved as a result. This is a double plus for an enterprise working on the principles of self-recoupment and self-financing: Output prime cost is reduced, while as a result of the use of nontraditional energy sources workers' wages increase considerably. This stimulates highly productive work and makes it possible to build up production of early vegetables for export.

During his visits to agricultural enterprises and organizations V.P. Nikonov noted the increasing role of scientific institutions in improving the efficiency of the Romanian economy's agrarian sector. A considerable contribution to this is being made by collectives at the Central Research, Design, and Technological Institute of Grain and Industrial Crops. During meetings with scientists and specialists from these scientific institutions note was made of the comprehensive approach to the mechanization of labor-intensive processes in crop production and its intensification on the basis of the use of high-yielding varieties and hybrids. Designers, for instance, have created a whole range of machines characterized by their high economy, and breeders have produced varieties of grain and oil-bearing crops that rival the best the world can offer in terms of their yield.

Zaykov Receives CPCZ's Stepan in Moscow

PM1406095188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Jun 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "In a Spirit of Fraternity"]

[Text] Prospects for the further development of cooperation between the Communists and working people of the two fraternal capitals were discussed 7 June at a meeting between L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom, and M. Stepan, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat and first secretary of Prague City Party Committee.

In the frank [otkrovennyy], friendly talk it was noted that the coincidence of the general directions of the radical restructuring in the USSR and Czechoslovakia determine the great significance of collaboration and the exchange of experience in various spheres of public life. The decisions of the forthcoming 19th all-union party conference will be an important milestone along the path of the renewal of socialist society.

J. Rehorek, CSSR ambassador to the Soviet Union, took part in the meeting.

Antonov, CSSR's Jakes Discuss Relations

LD1406164288 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1200 GMT 14 Jun 88

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Topical problems of developing relations between the CSSR and the USSR were examined during a meeting in Prague between Comrade Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and Comrade Antonov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who is leading a Soviet delegation at the 28th session of the intergovernmental Soviet-Czechoslovak Commission on Economic and Scientific and Technical Cooperation. It was with satisfaction that results achieved recently in deepening mutual economic ties were positively assessed.

West Europe

Obukhov Reports to French Officials on Summit

PM1406070688 Paris L'HUMANITE in French 9 Jun 88 p 7

[Jean George report: "Franco-Soviet Differences of Opinion"]

[Text] Aleksey Obukhov, head of the Soviet delegation at the Geneva negotiations, had talks in Paris on Tuesday with officials of the Foreign Affairs and Defense Ministries whom he informed about the results of the recent Reagan-Gorbachev summit. "This practice of exchanging information has proved very useful," he told the press on Wednesday.

The European countries can play a major role, Moscow's official envoy reaffirmed, and the USSR is prepared for "constructive cooperation" with them. Asked to explain his analysis, he added: "The Moscow negotiations were not just devoted to bilateral relations. Global problems like the strengthening of security, the prevention and, ultimately, elimination of war, concern all peoples. Strengthening peace and cooperation and contacts in Europe would have a beneficial effect for the peoples of the continent and the world."

The Soviet negotiator said that there are "definite differences of opinion" with the French authorities "especially on conceptual approaches," in other words on the very concept of disarmament and the need for it. "These must not prevent us from seeking specific agreements on specific points," he continued. And he gave two examples. First, the ban on chemical weapons for which a "political impetus is necessary" if we do not wish to regress at this stage in the negotiations. According to Obukhov, "the political interaction between the USSR and France could be positive in this sphere." Another decisive issue between Paris and Moscow is: "The start of negotiations on the limitation and reduction of conventional arms and forces in Europe."

Did the Soviet envoy obtain any reply during his talks at the Quai d'Orsay and the Defense Ministry? He answered this question from L'HUMANITE in a very diplomatic way: "That was not my aim. But I must in all honesty tell you that we discussed it. We exchanged views, opinions, and ideas. The talks took place in a frank and friendly atmosphere. I would like to hope that these talks could ultimately make a small contribution to the development of relations at all levels and to joint approaches. We must adopt a creative approach which would be in keeping with the aspirations of the two sides and would establish a balance of forces."

We are a long way from this, Aleksey Obukhov tacitly admitted. Indeed, the context is that of the military programming law adopted by all groups in the previous assembly, aside from the Communists. France has launched into an arms race until 1990, the cost of which is estimated to be Fr500 billion. The French Communist Party, however, is proposing to immediately withdraw Fr40 billion from this heavy bill and transfer it to civilian budgets.

PRAVDA Comments on French Election Results

PM1406151988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Jun 88 Second Edition p 5

[Report by own correspondent V. Bolshakov: "The French Choose"]

[Excerpts] Paris, 13 Jun—One of the longest election campaigns in French history ended on the evening of 12 June. The preparations for the presidential election, which ended on 8 May with the reelection of F. Mitterrand, stretched back almost into last year. The subsequent dissolution of the National Assembly and the early election enabled left-wing forces to deprive the right-wing parties, which have been in power since 1986, of a majority in the lower chamber of the French parliament. This is the chief and, unquestionably, historic result of the political battles that ended yesterday. France has made its choice. [passage omitted]

The election result reports raced across the television screen until late at night on 12 June. Second round elections were taking place in 453 of the 577 districts, that is, where none of the candidates had obtained an absolute majority in the first round. The fate of many people, including Prime Minister M. Rocard and the majority of his government, was being decided. At midnight Interior Minister P. Joxe announced that the right-wing parties had lost their majority in the National Assembly. According to the preliminary results—not counting the elections in the overseas territories and in French Polynesia, which anyway will not end until 24 June—the Socialists and left-wing radicals obtained 272 of the 577 seats in the National Assembly, the French Communist Party [PCF] obtained 26 seats, the Rally for the Republic-Union for French Democracy obtained 256 seats, and a "National Front" candidate obtained 1.

Against the background of an undoubted success for the Communists—if the elections had been held on a proportional representation basis, as in 1986, they would now have around 70 deputies in the National Assembly—the ultrarightists' failure was stunning. The boss himself, Le Pen, failed in Marseilles and was not elected. But the leaders of the PCF, including PCF Secretary General G. Marchais and PCF presidential election candidate, Politburo member A. Lajoinie retrieved their seats. This confirms once again that the PCF is an influential political force in France which it would at the very least be short-sighted to ignore, let alone discount. And those who expected the Communist Party to be routed at the election now have egg on their faces. In fact, the fate of the left majority now depends on the Communists. Remember that in order to have a majority in the lower chamber it is necessary to obtain at least 289 seats. The left-wing forces now have 298, that is, more

than enough. But neither the socialists together with the radicals, nor the right-wing parties have an overwhelming majority, as all political observers are now saying.

On Sunday evening PCF Secretary General G. Marchais said that the Communists are willing to join the government and assume responsibility for its policy only if it is a really new policy. G. Marchais pointed out that the PCF at the presidential election and at the National Assembly election advocated a Fr40-billion cut in the military budget and the transfer of these funds to educational needs, a 50-percent increase in the minimum wage in France, a tax on large fortunes, and other measures to improve the working people's lot, and peace and disarmament.

From yesterday's commentaries on the election results by French Socialist Party leaders it was clear that the socialists are not prepared to conduct such a policy, that they intend to continue their policy of "stringency." Although M. Rocard has said that his government, practically all of them were reelected, incidentally, will seek to raise the living standard, purchasing power, and wages of working people. It was no random comment when G. Marchais noted that this government is more open to right-wing forces than to the Communists.

The fate of the new majority in the French National Assemnly will be finally decided in the next few days, in the course of complex and possibly even lengthy consultations. Anyway, France's choice, and in this connection one cannot help agreeing with the Socialist and PCF leaders' first comments, is perfectly clear. France has opposed the right-wing forces, it has voted against the policy of J. Chirac's government, and it has called for a new course.

PRAVDA Denounces Trial of Turkish Communists

PM1306132588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Jun 88 Second Edition p 5

[I. Kuranov report: "Persecuted for Their Beliefs: The Trial of Turkish Communists"]

[Text] On 8 June the trial of Haydar Kutlu, general secretary of the Turkish Communist Party [TKP] Central Committee, and Nihat Sargyn, general secretary of the Turkish Labor Party, opens in the Turkish capital.

Many Turkish lawyers who have studied the bulky, 230-page indictment in the "case" of H. Kutlu and N. Sargyn have come to the conclusion that this is not a legal document but essentially a purely political one. Nor does the republic's prosecutor, who prepared the indictment, make any particular attempt to conceal that fact. He hastened to call the trial the "trial of the century" and hoped to "prove" that communist ideas are incompatible with democracy.

In what way? According to the charge, "the main principle of communism is death to him who is not with us. There is no middle ground." Further on we read: "There is neither bad nor good communism. Communism is a terrifying dictatorship which exploits workers"; "Communists believe that every talented, energetic, and enterprising person is a fascist and must die," and so on and so forth. The fact that such "ideas" are incompatible with democracy is beyond doubt. But what have they to do with Communists and their teaching? The sentences attributed to them have nothing in common with genuine communist ideals and principles.

What are Turkish Communists' real goals? As is well known, after reaching a final agreement on unification, the TKP and the Turkish Labor Party published in fall 1987 the draft program of the United Communist Party of Turkey. It clearly sets out those goals. The safeguarding of world peace and the democratic renewal of Turkey are defined as the most important strategic tasks. At the same time Turkish Communists stress that these goals cannot be achieved by a single party in isolation. There must be a broad alliance of the supporters of democracy in Turkey. And in order to establish dialogue with other representatives of the Turkish political spectrum the party must at least have the opportunity to openly air its views.

The general secretaries of the TKP and Labor Party Central Committees announced that aim—the aim of legalizing the activity of the United Communist Party in Turkey—at a press conference before openly returning home from abroad on 16 November 1987. Readers know the rest—they were arrested as they stepped off the plane.

Many representatives of political parties, influential press organs, and cultural figures have spoken out in Turkey against the arrest of H. Kutlu and N. Sargyn and for the legalization of the Communist Party. Demands for their release have been made by the European Parliament, many of the world's communist and workers parties, social democrats, socialists, "greens," centrists, liberals, national liberation movements, social organizations, and well known cultural figures. A number of European parliamentarians, lawyers, and journalists went to Turkey to demonstrate their solidarity with H. Kutlu and N. Sargyn. The well known Greek composer Mikis Theodorakis has become head of the international committee to save H. Kutlu and N. Sargyn. The CPSU Central Committee, a number of Soviet social organizations, and fraternal parties in other socialist countries have resolutely supported the demand for their release.

The trial of H. Kutlu and N. Sargyn for their beliefs is all the more bewildering in that Turkey has signed international pacts on human rights and the Helsinki Final Act, which contains the obligation to "respect human rights and basic freedoms, including freedom of thought, conscience, religion, and belief."

Soviet people believe that Turkish Communists will obtain the right to freely and openly walk the streets of their native land, as is increasingly demanded by the broad democratic circles in Turkey and life itself. We express fraternal solidarity with the courageous Turkish Communists and patriots and resolutely demand their release.

Business Cooperation Agreement Signed With Turkey

LD1006230288 Moscow TASS in English 1517 GMT 10 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 10 TASS—The Chamber of Commerce and Industry of the USSR and the Council for External Economic Relations of Turkey signed an agreement here today, setting up a Soviet-Turkish Committee for Business Cooperation and a Turkish-Soviet Business Council.

The document defines the objectives, tasks, areas of activity and structures of the new organizations which will work to encourage brisker bilateral exchanges.

The chairman of the Soviet-Turkish Committee is Nikolay Melnikov, a vice president of the Presidium of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of the USSR, while the Turkish-Soviet Business Council is led by Nihat Gekyigit, president of Tefken Holding.

It was agreed that the new organizations will hold their first joint sitting in Istanbul next August.

Soviet, Swedish Economists Meet in Stockholm

LD1006135288 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 9 Jun 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video reportage by V. Gubernatorov]

[Excerpts] A Soviet-Swedish roundtable is under way in Stockholm. The idea to hold such an event, at which it would be possible to exchange experience from socioeconomic development of the two countries, was born during the visits of Comrade Ryzhkov and Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson. And here are the first discussions: The members of our delegation are Academicians Abalkin and Aganbegyan, representatives of party bodies, state and economic institutions, and departments. They are acquainting Swedish economists and the representatives of business circles with the development of glasnost and democratization in Soviet society. [video shows a discussion in progress; camera shows Abal'kin speaking, focuses on Aganbegyan and other unidentified officials] At the same time they are studying with interest the experience of the Swedish model of economic development, utilization, and redistribution of labor resources, organization of foreign trade links, and the Swedish cooperative movement. [passage omitted]

The Soviet delegation was received by Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson. He expressed satisfaction that the plans for holding a roundtable of the two countries' leading economists have been quickly implemented. This event opens up new prospects in Soviet-Swedish cooperation, he stressed. [video shows Soviet delegation meeting Carlsson]

Roundtable Discussion Ends

LD1006213788 Moscow TASS in English 1945 GMT 10 Jun 88

[Text] Stockholm June 10 TASS—The holding of a Soviet-Swedish "round table" marked a new stage in furthering the cooperation between the USSR and Sweden. The "round table" completed its discussions today in the "Haga" Palace in Stockholm. Discussions, during which the sides exchanged experience in the social and economic development of their respective countries, were organized in keeping with an inter-governmental agreement reached during the official visit to Sweden by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR Nikolay Ryzhkov last January.

The Soviet delegation at the "round table" was led by the head of the Consultants Group of the Economic Department of the CPSU Central Committee, Doctor of Sciences (Economics) Anatoliy Kilyukov. The delegation included party, state and economic officials, Academicians Leonid Abalkin and Abel Aganbegyan. The Swedish side at the discussions was represented by prominent economists and representatives of the political and business communities.

The "round table" examined the ways followed in solving the social and economic problems within the framework of Sweden's market economy. In the process much attention was given to the questions of the labour market. The participants also discussed questions having to do with the management of foreign economic relations, and ways of furthering the economic cooperation between the USSR and Sweden. Statements by members of the Soviet delegation about the process of changes in the Soviet Union were met with great interest. The whole set of issues linked with the economic reform in the USSR, was examined from the angle of the contents of the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee for the 19th all-union party conference, and of the discussion pursued in the period which precedes the conference. Swedish economists have repeatedly pointed out that some of the aspects of Soviet perestroyka deserve careful scrutiny in Sweden.

As was pointed out during the final session of the "round table", the holding of the forum laid the groundwork for a serious discussion of the question of exchanging experience in economic and social development. Both the Swedish and the Soviet sides spoke out in favour of continuing such contacts.

Spanish Party Delegation Visits 6-12 Jun

LD1206201088 Moscow TASS in English 1935 GMT 12 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 12 TASS—The delegation of the Communist Party of the Peoples of Spain (PCPE) paid a visit to the Soviet Union on June 6-12 under the plan of party exchange and cooperation with the CPSU. The delegation was headed by Manuel Monereo Perez, member of the Executive Committee of the PCPE Central Committee, secretary of the Communist Party of the People of Andalusia. The delegation familiarized itself with the CPSU's work in conditions of perestroyka (drive for restructuring).

The Spanish comrades were received in the Department of the Organisational and Party Work and the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee, held talks at the Institute of Social Sciences at the CPSU Central Committee and the newspaper PRAVDA, visited the all-union heat engineering research institute named after Felix Dzerzhinskiy.

The delegation made a trip to Leningrad where it was received at the Leningrad regional committee of the CPSU, visited the Leningrad State University named after A.A. Zhdanov and an agricultural enterprise, gained familiarization with the activity of party organisations.

The Spanish comrades showed keen interest in the way the revolutionary efforts to reshape Soviet socialist society were developing, the changes taking place in the political, economic, social and cultural spheres of life, the implementation of the principles of new thinking in the innovative foreign policy of the CPSU. They noted that successes in the re-organisation effort in the USSR help increase the influence of the ideals of socialism all over the world.

Briefs

MOSCOW NEWS Published in UK

London, 8 Jun (TASS)—Correspondent Andrey Biryukov reports that the first trial issue of MOSCOW NEWS in English has been printed in Britain in a run of 30,000. It went on sale today as the result of a joint project between the NOVOSTI Press Agency and Pergamon Press. It was announced at a press conference that a series of trial issues will be published, and a weekly edition of 60,000 will be started beginning 1 October. Both Soviet and British journalists took part in preparing today's issue, and future issues will have two pages on British-Soviet relations, and one page will be for British businessmen. Robert Maxwell, head of Pergamon Press, says the English edition of MOSCOW NEWS is a must for anyone interested in restructuring. Yegor Yakovlev, chief editor of MOSCOW NEWS said that the newspaper is not specially oriented toward British readers, but is intended to be a "bridge between East and West." [Summary] [*LD1006071088 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1440 GMT 8 Jun 88*]

Cooperation in Agriculture

Moscow June 9 TASS—Activities of the Soviet-Netherlands working group promote intensification of scientific and technical cooperation. This is the opinion of participants in the 10th meeting of the group—representatives of the USSR State Committee for the Agri-Industrial Complex and the Netherlands Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, as well as big Netherlands firms. Cooperation of the two countries in this sphere embraces agriculture, the food, meat and dairy industries, vegetable and fruit growing. Meetings held between June 6 and 9 approved plans of joint research work and prospects for the development of economic cooperation in the agri-industrial complex. Possibilities of establishing joint ventures were also discussed. [Excerpt] [*LD1006065888 Moscow TASS in English 1635 GMT 9 Jun 88*]

Book on Western Intelligence

Moscow, 7 June (TASS)—A book on the subversive actions of the Western intelligence services against the socialist countries written by (Heinz Felfe), a professor at the GDR's Humboldt University, has come out in a Russian language edition published in a 200,000-copy run by the Politizdat publishing house. "Memoirs of an Intelligence Officer" [Memuary Razvedchika] deals with his experiences working in the FRG for Soviet intelligence. [Summary] [*LD0806014388 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1745 GMT 7 Jun 88*]

Latin America & Caribbean

Panamanian Legislator on U.S. 'Aggression'

LD1406205288 Moscow TASS in English 1721 GMT 14 Jun 88

[Text] Panama June 14 TASS—TASS correspondent Eldar Abdullayev reports:

The honour and dignity of any nation are based on respect for its independence, right to self-determination, solution of national problems without any outside interference, President of the Legislative Assembly (Parliament) of Panama Alberto Aleman Boyd said in an interview to the TASS correspondent.

He said that for a year now Panama has been the target for an aggression of the United States, unprecedented in scope. And it should be noted, Alberto Aleman Boyd said, that the Panamanian people is not going to [words indistinct] to dictate its terms, to teach anyone or demand something. "We simply wish to live in peace and friendship with all nations, to cooperate with other

countries and develop mutually advantageous commercial and economic ties with them. Panama intends to continue participating vigorously in the Nonaligned Movement, in the activity of various regional organisations above all the Contadora Group for political settlement of the Central American crisis. These are the fundamental principles of our foreign policy. And we want the United States to leave us alone and to stop its aggressive interventionist actions."

But the United States ruling circles use various means aimed at destabilization of political, social and economic situation in the country. It is quite apparent that the United States present line with regard to Panama is pursued not only in order to overthrow the Panamanian Government, to prevent the development of progressive social and political processes. It also pursues far-reaching strategic aims. By imposing a puppet regime on the Panamanian people, the United States would like to achieve a revision of the Panamanian-U.S. treaties on the canal, so as to perpetuate the U.S. military presence in the area of such importance for the USA.

According to members of staff of the Panamanian Red Cross, the United States brutal economic sanctions with regard to Panama had a most negative effect on the position of the country's population, above all its poorest sections. There is an acute shortage of food products in Panama. The unemployment rate increased considerably.

In an interview to [words indistinct] of Panama General Manuel Antonio Noriega declared that one of the aims of the United States current policy with regard to Panama is to use it as a bridgehead for the implementation of aggressions against other countries of the regime in case of need.

U.S. Ambassador to Costa Rica Dean Hinton said that the White House does not preclude the possibility of the United States armed intervention in Panama. In an interview to the local [words indistinct] NACION, the U.S. ambassador said that the Washington administration now considers a broad range of additional methods of exerting pressure on Panama.

Future Joint Ventures With Uruguay Outlined

PY1106161788 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0400 GMT 10 Jun 88

[Text] Montevideo, 10 Jun (EFE)—Today in Montevideo it was reported that Uruguay and the Soviet Union are planning the creation of joint companies that will manufacture electrical articles, tractors, and automobiles.

Nikolay Frolov, the Soviet commercial attache in Montevideo, has told the press that the enterprises will be created with capital from the Uruguayan private sector and from the Soviet state sector.

The first enterprise to be created will manufacture electricity meters to supply Uruguay's domestic demand and for export, mainly to Argentina and Brazil.

According to Frolov, the meters will be assembled in Uruguay from parts manufactured in the Soviet Union.

The plan for 1989 is to begin the assembly of a very economical line of automobiles through industrial integration between a Soviet state enterprise and private Uruguayan capital.

According to Frolov, the automobiles will have very competitive prices in order to gain markets in other countries of the area.

The Soviet commercial attache also reported that the joint industrial enterprises (joint ventures) will also include the assembly of tractors with Uruguayan manpower, Soviet parts, and U.S. engines.

The Soviet Union is also planning the construction of a very large warehouse in the free zone of Nueva Palmira, Uruguay, to supply the industries with the necessary parts and spares, Frolov added.

Next week Soviet Ambassador to Uruguay Igor Laptev will meet with Nestor Consentino, president of the Uruguayan Chamber of Industries, to define some aspects of the negotiations and the creation of a Uruguayan-Soviet Chamber of Commerce.

Briefs

Relief Aid to Cuba

Moscow June 8 TASS—The Executive Committee of the Union of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies of the USSR and the Board of the Soviet Peace Fund have decided to urgently render assistance to the population of central provinces of the Republic of Cuba affected by a flood. Aeroflot planes will transport to Cuba medicinal preparations, tents, blankets and necessaries. [Text] [*LD1006070688 Moscow TASS in English 1438 GMT 8 Jun 88*]

Political & Social

Tension Over Nagorno-Karabakh Continues

Armenian Supreme Soviet Resolution

NC1406084488 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0425 GMT 14 Jun 88

[From the review of SOVETAKAN AYASTAN]

[Text] The newspaper has published on its first page the draft of a resolution of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR on the decision of the extraordinary session of the oblast Soviet of People's Deputies of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast of the Azerbaijan SSR dated 20 February 1988, petitioning the supreme soviets of the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR's to transfer the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast from the structure of the Azerbaijan SSR to the structure of the Armenian SSR.

Vezirov Addresses Baku Workers

NC1506134488 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0600 GMT 14 Jun 88

[Text] As has already been reported, a meeting of the working people of Baku took place on Lenin Square on 13 June. It included representatives of labor collectives of the city's industrial enterprises, organizations, establishments, and educational institutions. Abdul-Rakhman Khalil ogly Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, made a speech at the meeting.

On behalf of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee he warmly greeted the working class of Baku and all participants in the meeting in support of the Leninist course of the CPSU toward restructuring. This is the course of the April plenum, the course of the 27th party congress. It has been approved and supported by the working people and by the whole of the Azerbaijani people.

Today's meeting is a convincing reply by working Baku to acts of provocation that have taken place, Comrade Vezirov stressed. It is shining evidence of the consolidation of healthy forces and of their resolve not to permit the raging of passions and emotions which might lead to unpredictable consequences. It has to be said that forces opposed to restructuring are trying to compromise the policy of democratization and glasnost and increasingly to aggravate relations between the nationalities. We know that certain individuals have tried to encourage provocateurs whose object was to repeat the tragic events in Sumgait and Apsheron. In so doing they [words indistinct] and distributed drugs to immature people and parasites and openly chauvinistic slogans.

We have drawn serious conclusions and I want to state with complete certainty that we are filled with resolve not to permit outrages. We have all that is necessary for maintaining public order. We are confident that the working class and all the working people of Baku will give the necessary rebuff to any provocateurs and will draw practical conclusions from the lessons of the past 4 months. I have to say that considerable damage has been done to relations between the nationalities. People's internationalist feelings have been subjected to a severe trial.

Our party, which regards it as impermissible to yield the most important issues of the people's destiny to the power of the elements and emotions, indicated constructive directions for resolving the problems and ways of getting out of the situation that has arisen. The Appeal by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev to the workers and peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia stressed the need for measures to be implemented in resolute fashion to improve the situation. However, the lack of will and the inertness of the former leadership of the republic prevented the situation from being changed in a radical way. At the same time, as is noted in the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee for the 19th all-union party conference, one has to proceed on the basis that debate is fruitful only on the soil of socialism and in the name of socialism. It must not lead to political confrontation and to the dismemberment of social forces.

As you are aware, a whole range of very important party and state documents have been adopted which are aimed at stabilizing the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and in the republic as a whole. The Communists and workers of Azerbaijan and all genuine patriots support wholly and completely the decision of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo of 21 February of this year in connection with the events in Nagorno-Karabakh; and they evaluate it as being of principled importance and the only correct decision. The decision stresses that actions and demands aimed at revising the existing national and territorial set-up in our region contradicts the interests of the working people of the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR's and harms relations between the nationalities.

Today, after giving all-round consideration to the request by deputies from the Soviet of People's Deputies of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast for the transfer of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast from the Azerbaijan SSR to the Armenian SSR, the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium deemed it unacceptable, because that would run counter to the interests of the Azerbaijan and Armenian population of the republic and does not correspond to the tasks of strengthening the friendship of all the peoples of our country and the tasks of the revolutionary transformation of society.

At the same time, I have to say frankly that what took place in and around the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast would not have happened if the issues that had come to a head had been resolved at the proper time, humanely, and in an internationalist way. All of this is

first and foremost the result of serious mistakes by the previous leadership of the republic and oblast. I would like to stress especially that, as is shown by our country's 70 years' experience, the most complex issues concerning the economy, culture, language and others can be solved successfully within the framework of autonomy, and practical experience provides convincing evidence of this.

In the solution of the delayed problems of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, an important role belongs to the decision of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers. This is a good foundation for the dynamic socioeconomic development of that part of Azerbaijan.

Unfortunately, a number of ministries and departments were unenthusiastic about carrying out the measures mapped out by that document. We are resolutely rectifying the situation, and a considerable volume of work has already been carried out within a short time. This is regularly reported in the press. We now observe significant changes the activity of party, local soviet and economic bodies of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. Never before in the history of our country has there been such [words indistinct]. A decision adopted by the oblast party committee was published yesterday. It provides an assessment of the situation that has arisen in the oblast. Halting illegal activities immediately and reminding leading officials of their party responsibilities, even the possibility of removing recalcitrant officials from the CPSU ranks, were deemed essential. The decision drew particular attention to the need to prevent nationalist manifestations. The oblast party committee bureau condemned the expulsion from work sites of non-Armenian workers.

I think I will be expressing the opinion of all those taking part in the meeting if from here, from the square named after Vladimir Ilich Lenin, I call for restoring the life of the autonomous oblast to its normal channel.

We do not forget the conditions in which Azerbaijanians are living and working in neighboring Armenia. A competent commission has been sent to regions where Azerbaijanians are living. An agreement has been reached with the first secretary of the Armenian Central Committee. Thanks to the work that has been carried out, an overwhelming majority of refugees from Armenia have returned to their home regions.

These events, Comrade Vezirov went on, have dealt serious blows against the cause of restructuring and have aggravated relations between the nationalities. Everything has to be done in order to remove whatever is foreign both to the Azerbaijanian and the Armenian peoples. Our generation, all of us, carry the responsibility before future generations for the strengthening of our friendship [words indistinct].

Servicemen Cut Roads in Baku

LD1506103088 Moscow World Service in English 0700 GMT 15 Jun 88

[Text] The Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Caucasian Republic of Armenia is holding its session in Yerevan today. As the first secretary of the Communist Party of the Republic, Suren Arutyunyan, announced earlier, the session will discuss the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh, an autonomous region located in neighboring Azerbaijan, where the Armenians make up the majority of the population. The Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh want the region to be made part of Armenia. However, the leading bodies in Azerbaijan believe this to be unacceptable.

The MOSCOW NEWS weekly reports about a strike in the administrative centre of Nagorno-Karabakh, Stepanakert, and about demonstrations in Yerevan.

In Baku, the capital of Azerbaijan, servicemen on Monday cut the roads leading to the place where the Armenians live.

'Thousands' Assemble in Yerevan

LD1506085988 Hamburg DPA in German 0825 GMT 15 Jun 88

[Excerpt] Moscow, (DPA)—In order to avoid bloody clashes between Armenians and Azerbaijanis, soldiers have once more been deployed in the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan. Last Monday soldiers blocked off streets in the Azerbaijani capital, Baku, which led to the Armenian quarter, the weekly paper 'MOSCOW NEWS' reported today. The police were also reinforced.

This morning in the capital of Armenia, Yerevan, a session of the Supreme Soviet, the Armenian parliament, began. The main point on the agenda is discussion of the demand by the Armenians for the annexation to Armenia of the Nagorno-Karabakh region which is in Azerbaijan.

Thousands of people today assembled in front of the Supreme Soviet building in Yerevan, a spokesman for the Armenian Foreign Ministry told DPA by telephone. The session is also being carried live by Armenian television. Some factories are still on strike. However, there is no question of a general strike, the spokesman said. [passage omitted]

Supreme Soviet Backs Transfer

AU1506084088 Paris AFP in English 0838 GMT 15 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow, June 15 (AFP)—The Armenian Supreme Soviet, the southern republic's parliament, Wednesday voted unanimously in favour of the transfer of the disputed Azerbaijani region of Nagorno-Karabakh

to Armenia, official sources in Yerevan said Wednesday. An official at the Armenian news agency, ARMENPRESS, told AFP by telephone of the result, which had been expected.

Demonstrators Force Ammendment

AU1506130988 Paris AFP in English 1305 GMT 15 Jun 88

[Excerpt] Moscow, June 15 (AFP)—Half a million Armenian demonstrators outside the Armenian parliament Wednesday forced deputies to amend a resolution they had voted earlier in the day calling for the transfer of an Azerbaijani region to Armenia, official sources in Yerevan told AFP by telephone. According to a journalist at the official newspaper KOMMUNIST, the demonstrators obliged the parliament to remove a reference in the motion which asked the Supreme Soviet in neighbouring Azerbaijan to approve the territorial move.

A further amendment to the resolution added a reference to massacres of Armenians in the Azerbaijani city of Sumgait at the end of February. The massacres, in which 32 people including 26 Armenians were killed, are called a "criminal act" in the new resolution. [passage omitted]

Karabakh Decision Reported

LD1506154988 Moscow TASS in English 1546 GMT 15 Jun 88

[Text] Yerevan June 15 TASS—The seventh session of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic, held here today, discussed the fulfilment of the remarks and proposals made by the standing commissions and deputies of Armenia's Supreme Soviet during the previous two sessions.

The session studied the question "on the decision of the pre-term session of the regional Soviet of People's Deputies of the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic of February 20, 1988 'on requesting the supreme soviets of the Azerbaijan SSR and the Armenian SSR to remove the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region from the Azerbaijan SSR and include it in the Armenian SSR.'"

After an all-round study of this decision the seventh session of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR decreed to give its consent to the inclusion of the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region in the Armenian SSR. The Supreme Soviet of the republic has asked the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijan SSR and the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to study this question.

The session formed a Standing Commission on Interethnic Relations and Internationalist Education.

Correction to Armenian Relocation Commission

The following correction pertains to the item under the headline "More on Work of Armenian Relocation Commission" published in the 13 June Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 61:

Column one, paragraph one, line ten should read: "...in the republic's Baghramyan region [shrjan]. Many families have..." (changing "Oblast" to "region" and supplying vernacular)

Ethnic Clashes Reported in Georgia

AU1406154588 Paris AFP in English 1534 GMT 14 Jun 88

[Excerpts] Moscow, June 14 (AFP)—Clashes erupted this month in the southern Republic of Georgia between Christian Georgians and the descendents of Moslems deported from the region by Stalin in World War II, a dissident source said Tuesday.

The incidents 10 days ago in the southern Georgia town of Borzhomi involved some 200 Meskhet Moslems from Central Asia who staged a demonstration for the right to return to their ancestral homeland. The Moslems had displayed "anti-Georgian slogans," the source told AFP by telephone. The Meskhet Moslems fought a pitched battle with the police after security forces intervened to break up the clashes, said Zviad Gamsakhurdia, a Georgian dissident spokesman. He he had obtained the report from a friend who recently visited Borzhomi. There were no casualties in the clashes, he said. Mr Gamsakhurdia said the local press had never reported the incidents. He said the number of Meskhet Moslems now living in the Soviet Union was around 400,000 with about 10,000 still left in Georgia. [passage omitted]

The Georgia incidents come amid renewed ethnic tension in Armenia and Azerbaijan over territorial changes made by Stalin in the 1920s.

Georgian Party Leader on Opinion Poll Results

LD1406170188 Moscow TASS International Sevice in Russian 1658 GMT 14 Jun 88

[Text] Tbilisi, 14 Jun (TASS)—TASS correspondent Yana Sudakova reports:

The latest survey of public opinion on issues of restructuring has ended in Georgia. Five thousand people from the 5 million population of this trans-Caucasian republic were questioned. The sociologists were interested not just in their assessment of the economic and social changes and not just in their opinion of the progress of restructuring, but also in how people view the actions of the party committees and their leaders.

"I believe that the findings of the poll may be compared to the readings both of a barometer and a compass," said Dzhumber Patiashvili, first secretary of the Georgian

Communist Party Central Committee, assessing the survey results. "Not only are they important in order to assess public opinion, but they are also useful as a yardstick of our own work."

Not without reason did our TASS correspondent turn to the leader of the republic's party organization to comment. The very title of the survey drew her to him: "A dialogue with the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee." The first secretary of the Central Committee believes this dialogue worked.

"The most important thing that the survey revealed is that most of the republic's Communists—64 percent—consider satisfactory the management of the restructuring process by the party committees. The figure was rather lower among the nonparty population—only 48 percent," Dzhumber Patiashvili said. "Some were unable to respond to the question, claiming they had insufficient information. From this we conclude that we have to inform the public more about what the party committees are doing and what they are working on. And in the wider sense contacts between the leaders and the people must be extended."

"Young people proved to be the most demanding and categorical of all the social demographic groups of the population," Georgia's party leader continued. "In particular, approximately 30 percent of the students at higher and secondary educational institutions stated that they are not satisfied with the rates of restructuring. In their view, the rates should be higher. As far as the argumentativeness of the young is concerned, I think that it is a consequence of the inadequate level of political culture engendered by the period of stagnation. In the context of a developing democracy the young should also learn democratic forms of discussion.

"But at the moment we are all learning," Dzhumber Patiashvili said in conclusion. "Although the party committees are increasingly transferring from management of national economic affairs to political work, we still have to get rid of cliches, to learn to act in conditions of democracy. The CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th all-union party conference are directing us toward this, too."

'Many Thousands' Demonstrate in Latvia

LD1406175688 Moscow TASS in English 1755 GMT 14 Jun 88

[Text] Riga June 14 TASS—TASS correspondent Viktor Silens reports:

A memorial to people who were unjustifiably repressed in the years of Stalin's personality cult will be built in the capital of Soviet Latvia. This decision adopted by party and state leadership of the republic was approved by participants in a manifestation of many thousand held in Riga today in connection with the 47th anniversary of mass deporation of people of various nationalities from Latvia. Latvian historian Jan Riekstins is of the opinion that these events attest to the development of real democracy and growth of social activity of the people stemming from perestroyka.

The creation of more than 30 unofficial organisations should be viewed as one of the manifestations of the strengthening self-awareness of the Latvian people. Latvia now has a population of 2.5 million. The concensus of opinion is that the most influencial among the unofficial organisations is the conservationists movement. Jointly with the republic's Committee of Youth Organisations it sponsored today's meetings and marches.

Among those who came to the manifestations with flowers and streamers there were many people who underwent mass reprisals of 1941 and 1949.

"We justifiably condemn the policy of cruelty," Jan Riekstins said. "True, it should not be forgotten that the so-called 'fifth column' operated here in 1941. And immediately after the ending of the Second World War, there were over 23,000 active supporters of the Hitlerite occupiers in the Latvian territory. Many of them formed gangs. These armed thugs are responsible for over 3,000 brutal murders and acts of violence against supporters of Soviet power among the local population."

Among the participants in the manifestation there were many aged people, those who had endured the grim times of Stalinism. But they, too, remember the May events of 1919 when 12,000 citizens of young Soviet Latvia were destroyed by local counter-revolution and German occupiers. The Latvian people grieve for hundreds of thousands of Latvians, Russians, Jews, people from many European countries, who fell victim to Hitlerites and Latvian nationalists in the years of the war.

In solemn silence people placed flowers to the Monument of Freedom near which a parade of the Latvian corps which in the composition of the Red Army brought the Latvians liberation from German fascism was held in 1944. Flowers were placed at the busts of Latvian revolutionaries who gave their lives for the ideals of socialism, to the Monument of Mother-Latvia at the Bralu Cemetery. Flowers were carried by the Daugava on whose embankments participants in the memorial day gathered late in the evening.

A special governmental commission was set up in the republic to consider applications of people illegally deported from Latvia in 1941 and 1949. The forming of the commission has been regarded in the republic as an act of justice. People have received not only moral satisfaction from the official conclusion that they are guiltless. The material damage sustained is also compensated for under the commission's decision.

Memorial in Vilnius for 'Victims of Stalinism'

LD1406213988 Moscow TASS in English 2010 GMT 14 Jun 88

[Text] Vilnius June 14 TASS—A meeting in memory of victims of the times of Stalin's personality cult was held this evening in the Gedimino Square in the Lithuanian capital.

The participants in the meeting which drew some 500 people condemned the lawlessness of those times. With a minute's silence those present paid homage to the memory of victims of Stalinism.

The speakers expressed approval for the process of democratisation, renewal of society underway in the USSR. At the same time some extremist-minded people tried to impart to the meeting a demagogic character and channel it into the route of nationalism.

Lithuanian First Secretary Attends Meeting

LD0406212288 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1915 GMT 4 Jun 88

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] A meeting of the party aktiv of Lithuania was held in Vilnius today. The Communists analyzed the state of popular education in the republic. Steps to improve the level of the party's guidance of popular education and to ensure a fundamental improvement in the work of all the republic's educational establishments were mapped out. Songayla, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, spoke at the meeting.

Meetings Commemorate Estonian Deportations

LD1506073888 Moscow TASS in English 2018 GMT 14 Jun 88

[Text] Tallinn June 14 TASS—June 14, 1941, was a bleak day for many Estonians. On that day thousands of families were illegally deported from Estonia (the Soviet Republic in the Baltic) by the Stalinist administrative-bureaucratic system. 47 years have passed since those events that caused grief to people. And today assemblies and meetings were held in Tallinn and some other cities of the republic. The choir Nooros and the folklore ensemble Leigarid Popular in Estonia, performing in the biggest concert hall of the Estonian capital, dedicated their songs to the memory of innocent people repressed in 1941 and 1949.

Meetings were held in Tartu and Piarnu. Representatives of the public laid flowers and lit candles on the tombs.

Election of Estonian Delegates Viewed

LD1406163088 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1040 GMT 14 Jun 88

[Text] Tallinn, 14 Jun (TASS)—The elections of delegates to the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference in Estonia has on the whole been democratic, with primary party organizations of the republic nominating about 600 candidates, and work collectives and public organizations expressing their recommendations. However, the final stage of the elections of 32 delegates at the plenum of the Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee did not satisfy everyone.

"At the plenum voting was done by list and not for each candidature separately. I think this is not the optimal way of determining the very best of the best," said Enn Pyldroos, chairman of the board of the Union of Artists of Estonia, elected a delegate to the conference, sharing his thoughts with a TASS correspondent. "In my view, the participants in the Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee plenum should not have taken the familiar path of unanimity, but should have thoroughly thought about and discussed each of the proposed candidatures.

Enn Pyldroos expressed this view not only at a meeting of conference delegates from Estonian party organizations, but also during his talk on Estonian television. Judging by the responses, this view is shared by certain other citizens of Estonia.

While criticizing the method of electing delegates at the Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee plenum, Enn Pyldroos believes that the composition of the republic's delegation arouses no objections. It includes party workers, scientists, representatives of the creative intelligentsia and rural cooperatives, and workers from industrial enterprises.

"It is possible," he noted, "that our views do differ on certain issues. But this gladdens me: The presence of different opinions on one issue is an argument, and as we know, from argument truth is born. But in many things we are united; for example, in our positive appraisal of the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the party conference."

National Equality Problems Viewed

PM1406121588 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 4 Jun 88 pp 1-2

[Article by Doctor of Juridical Sciences G. Litvinova, senior scientific worker at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of State and Law, under the rubric "The 19th All-Union Party Conference: We Discuss the CPSU Central Committee Theses": "On Equality and Equal Rights"]

[Text] Events in Nagorno-Karabakh, Armenia, and Azerbaijan, and even earlier in Alma-Ata perturbed millions of people. It has turned out that the sound

edifice of inter-nation [mezhnatsionalnyye] relations built during the years of Soviet power is full of hidden cracks. And any of them, as the tragedy in Sumgait showed, can lead to dangerous collapses. Let us not delude ourselves: It will be a long time before the Armenians and Azerbaijanis start smiling openly at each other in this city.

How could this have happened? Where and when were the errors permitted in national policy and what were these errors? What should be done to neutralize them? How to ensure that this cannot be repeated? I fear that there are still no exhaustive answers to these questions. It is clear only that a significant role in what happened was played by economic factors. In particular, shortcomings in developing the social sphere.

In a number of regions, people also attempted to use inter-nation problems as a smokescreen for blatant bribe-taking and extortion. To this day rumors are being spread in these regions that the central organs, mainly concerned with Russians' interests, are fleecing the republics. And in Uzbekistan they are even trying to justify Rashidov's acts with the fanciful notion that in extorting money from the state treasury he allegedly wanted to feed the Uzbek people. Of course, today the Uzbeks are well aware where this money went in the period of stagnation and lavish feasts. But this does not remove our obligation to examine thoroughly the economic aspects of nationalities policy.

For many years, in arguing this policy's advantages, we gave priority to the concept of equality for all peoples and nationalities. But then it turned out that in fact it is only a question of equal rights. As for the other components, among which equal obligations are one of the most important, they are not always remembered. Many examples testify that at some stage we virtually deviated from Lenin's principles of nationalities policy. Why?

Our country's peoples and ethnic groups came to the October Revolution at different levels of economic, social, and political development. In addition to regions of developed monopoly capitalism, there also existed in the country regions where tribal relations were still maintained. Whereas the natural population growth among the Russians and Ukrainians was quite high, extinction threatened the Kazakhs, Turkmens, Buryats, and a number of other peoples. Legal inequality among the peoples, which exacerbated inter-nation relations, aggravated the situation.

Without overcoming these differences, it was impossible to create a free socialist state. For this reason legal equality for all nations and ethnic groups was proclaimed immediately after the October Revolution victory and was enshrined in the first Soviet Constitution. But to achieve true equality in socioeconomic and political development, years of effort, colossal material expenditure, and huge organizational work were required. Who was able to take this on? Primarily the numerically strongest peoples, relatively developed in industrial terms, who boldly set out to build the new society.

The resolution of the 12th Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Congress on the nationalities question directly indicated: "A number of republics and peoples which bypassed or nearly bypassed capitalism, which lack or virtually lack their own proletariat, who for this reason have lagged behind economically and culturally, are incapable of fully utilizing the rights and opportunities granted them by national equality, are incapable of rising to the highest degree of development and so catching up with the nationalities which have overtaken them without real and prolonged assistance from outside.... Overcoming this inequality in a short time...is impossible.... But it should be overcome without fail. And it can be overcome only by means of real and prolonged assistance from the Russian proletariat to the backward peoples of the Union in the matter of their economic and cultural success."

Entire factories and plants were transferred to backward national regions from the RSFSR industrial oblasts and other republics in order to resolve this task. Qualified workers, specialists, teachers, doctors, and scientists were sent from Moscow, Leningrad, Kharkov, Baku, and other industrial centers. The more backward the republic or region was, the more rapid the pace of development the Soviet state endeavored to ensure.

The preferential budgetary and tax policy played a particular role in the extensive system of measures enabling backward republics to develop at a preferential rate. In particular, Kazakhstan and the republics of the Transcaucasus and Central Asia obtained the right to divert into their budget at times up to 100 percent of turnover tax—the main source of financial revenue. Moreover, as a rule, they also receive for their budget the full 100 percent of the income tax from the population. The general picture, for example, in the thirties was this: More than 60 percent of the majority of the union republics' budgetary expenditure was covered by subsidies from centralized sources. Thus, the state carried out the redistribution of national income in the interests of individual peoples through budgetary channels.

Thanks to this policy, by the end of the forties we had achieved a virtual equality among nations on many questions. The necessity for privileges and advantages passed when this task was resolved. But for a number of different reasons this practice has been significantly maintained to this day. In particular, in the budget for 1988 it is planned to spend almost R5 billion to subsidize three republics—Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and Kirghizia. In the second half of the eighties even such a republic as Lithuania started relying on subsidies.

As a result, the threat of the emergence of a new inequality appeared: Peoples who earlier assisted others now started to be classed as backward themselves. The distortion in the social, moral, and political spheres became increasingly tangible. Accordingly, inter-nation relations were also deformed.

Most of the economically backward republics were agrarian regions. Thus, preferential purchase prices for agricultural output played a special role in their accelerated development. These prices were the reasons for many "distortions."

Take potatoes and citrus fruit, for instance. According to specialist opinion, their cultivation involves approximately the same labor expenditure. For this reason the prices for them throughout the world are almost the same. If in some places citrus fruit are more expensive than potatoes, then this is mainly because of transport costs, and their cost is no more than 2-3 times higher. Only in our country are prices 20-35 times higher.

The differences in prices correspondingly determine the higher income of the producers. And not just of citrus fruit. High purchase prices for cotton, rice, fruit, and other output mean that, for example, in the fifties the average income for kolkhoz members in a number of regions was nine times higher than in the RSFSR. There is no need to be surprised at this: Our system of purchase prices is such that the prime cost of gross crop production per work day, for example, in the non-Chernozem zone was 10 times lower than in the Uzbek SSR and 15 times lower than in Georgia. True, the wages discrepancies have now been minimized. But there is still a big difference in incomes because of personal plots: High state prices have automatically legitimized high market prices too.

But it was not only purchase prices which stimulated or hindered agricultural development. In the non-Chernozem again transport costs "added" up to 40 percent to the cost of output. The reasons for this are well known-the sparse road network. By the beginning of the eighties the RSFSR was at the bottom of the ladder among the republics in terms of provision with blacktop roads per square kilometer of territory. As regards this indicator, even Turkmenia, where 85 percent of the territory is desert, and the Tajik SSR, where 93 percent of the territory is covered with mountains, outstripped it.

The situation is no better in other spheres. It is well known, for example, that the Siberian petroleum and gas workers are poorly provided for as regards accommodation, although it is precisely they who by their labor make an enormous contribution to the country's national income. The slow pace of socioeconomic development has led to the point where today far fewer children study in RSFSR general education schools than did in the prewar 1940-1941 academic year. Yet at that time only a 7-year education, and not a 10-year education was compulsory. In the 1970-1980 period alone, the number of children studying in general education schools in the RSFSR fell by 20 percent. An ominous trend: The birthrate has declined more among the Russians than that of other nations. Nor does the "surge" in the past 2-3 years save the situation—it is still not enough to maintain even the existing population.

There is nothing negative in the actual practice of privileges. We deliberately embarked on them in an attempt to create an equitable economy. But then the privileges turned into the opposite, creating an atmosphere of parasitism and a consumerist attitude. In his recent speech to the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee, M.S. Gorbachev noted, in particular, that large resources were put into this republic's agriculture, but its output volume remained at the level of the early eighties. Irrigated land, on which harvests even began to fall, are being poorly utilized.

Of course, it should not be thought that parasitism is characteristic only of former national outlying areas. Over the past year alone Novgorod Oblast—and oblasts don't come more Russian than this—has demanded subsidies from the state to the tune of R500 million. It is another matter that in a number of republics economic distortions have been aggravated. In particular through errors in cadre policy.

At one time, in order to eliminate the gap more rapidly, people of indigenous nationality were given priority in receiving education and in getting promoted at work. But then the thesis of creating national cadres was replaced by "national preference," often based on kinship relations, local favoritism, and nepotism. People mainly from the indigenous population were nominated to key posts in the party and economic apparatus, in science, culture, and education. In any case, their proportion in the leadership was much higher than the proportion of this nation in the total numbers of the republic's population.

Education played a particular role in this issue. Lowering the requirements for "entrance" meant that certain VUZ's in the republic began to turn out specialists who were extremely poorly qualified. The example of the Azerbaijan Economics Institute, which simply had to be closed, is obvious confirmation of this. Such VUZ's not only trained cadres which were incapable of managing efficiently but also multiplied the number of people aspiring to a high public position.

A 1979 population census revealed alarming trends: Among the nations which were notable for their low (lower than the nationwide average) proportion of highly-qualified specialists were...Russians, Belorussians, and the peoples of the Baltic Republics. And, conversely, the Transcaucasus and Central Asia were among those with the highest indicators. As a result, such industrially developed regions as the West Siberian, East Siberian, Urals, Volga-Vyatka, Central Chernozem, and Volga regions, today have 2-3 times fewer highly qualified

specialists (per capita of those in work) than, for example, Georgia. The training of scientific cadres is also cause for concern. In 1973 Russians accounted for 9.7 percent of postgraduate scientific workers, Belorussians for 13.4 percent, Turkmens for 26.2 percent, and Kirghiz for 23.9 percent. This ratio has not changed significantly so far.

Statistics revealed another feature. It turned out that, for example, the percentage of people with higher education is twice as high among Tajiks living on the territory of their "own" republic than those Tajiks living in the neighboring Uzbek SSR. The situation is similar for a number of other nations. The wish to live on the territory of one's own republic is easily explained: Large privileges are given here to representatives of the indigenous population. And, conversely, talented people of a different nationality, losing hope of getting a prestigious position, frequently leave for other places. As a result, the prerequisites are created for national isolation.

None of these problems will go away of its own accord. They must be resolved. And resolved with extreme caution so as not to harm mutual understanding and friendship among our peoples. On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that true friendship begins with mutual respect. So the platform for resolving the problems which have accumulated must be genuine equality based not only on equal rights but also on equal responsibility for the fate of our entire multinational country.

In economics the path toward this goal is clearly defined in the documents of the 27th party congress which raised the question of how "the contribution of all republics to the development of a unified national economic complex should accord with their growing economic and spiritual potential." A certain amount of time will be required to fulfill this task. And a fundamentally new strategy by planning organs aimed at eliminating the distortions which have emerged.

It is not a question of rushing to the opposite extreme. But one solution could, for example, be that preference will be given to creating in the "debtor" regions labor-intensive production facilities working for the entire country. It is not excluded that tried and tested methods of privileges would be utilized to boost the economy of some regions and republics to average union indicators. But as soon as their position is rectified, these privileges must be abolished. The main condition is that these measures must be implemented on the principles of broad discussion and glasnost. Every people should know what they owe and to whom. And who owes what to them.

Cadre policy is also in need of new approaches. The complex period of restructuring is making a rigorous demand: It is not nationality but only a person's businesslike and moral qualities which can serve as the basis for election or nomination to leading party, soviet, or economic posts. There can be no "second class" specialists or scientists, and that also means no privileges for entry to VUZ's or leniency for defending dissertations. Take the structure of republican academies. In some of them there is not a single scientist with the title of full member of the union Academy of Sciences.

It is also time to deal seriously with a problem about which we have shamefully preferred to remain silent for many years. It is a case of the education of young people in the spirit of internationalism.

Nothing draws people together more than a common cause. But unfortunately, our labor collectives have still not become the main school of internationalism.

We have, for example, the Joint Nuclear Research Institute in Dubno where representatives from a variety of countries work. There should also be more of these institutes. But we have no collectives at all which are international by virtue of their set task. There could be, for example, an Aral Institute where representatives of the Central Asian republics would work jointly on reviving the ancient sea. Or, for example, a Transcaucasian Economics Institute concerned with questions of the harmonious development of the three union republics.

The socialist system is creating opportunities for all peoples to flourish and for relations between them to develop harmoniously. These opportunities only need to be implemented. And implemented skillfully, in accordance with changing circumstances and the spirit of the times. In my view, talk at the 19th all-union party conference must be about precisely this. It is easier to implement restructuring with united ranks.

Ligachev Opens Alternative Energy Forum

PM1406090188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Jun 88 Morning Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Conference at the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] A conference which discussed a range of questions pertaining to solving the topical scientific, technical, and national economic problem of the broad development of sun, wind, sea, biomass, and other nontraditional energy sources was held at the CPSU Central Committee 8 June.

The conference was opened by Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. He noted that the implementation of measures to ensure a more rational utilization and economical consumption of fuel and energy resources is an important factor in consistently implementing the 27th CPSU Congress course toward accelerating the country's socioeconomic development.

One of the reserves for carrying out this task lies in the swift absorption of renewable energy sources in the economy. The promise of utilizing sun, wind, and geothermal water energy and the processing of biomass is corroborated by the exploitation of individual projects and installations in a number of places in our country and abroad.

The aforementioned energy sources are ecologically clean which is of great importance for solving the acute social problem of cleaning up the water and air that surround us. Their importance is also increasing in connection with the emerging trend of rising costs of extracting minerals such as petroleum, gas, and coal.

Meanwhile, ministries and departments are very slow in restructuring their work in this area. The scale and pace of development of nontraditional energy sources does not match the needs of the national economy, especially in regions where there are large reserves of these energy resources and where their application would have a major impact. It is important to elaborate an economic mechanism to accelerate the development and production of relevant power engineering equipment and to stimulate the demand for it.

Party, soviet, and economic organs are not active enough in ensuring the development of nontraditional energy resources and continue to concentrate mainly on consumption of petroleum products and gas. It is necessary to radically change the attitude toward this crucial issue and to enhance cadres' responsibility for implementing the outlined measures.

B.Ye. Shcherbina, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, delivered a report on measures to ensure further expansion of the utilization of nontraditional energy sources in the national economy. The following took part in the debate: B.V. Kachura, secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; N.F. Vasilyev, USSR minister of land reclamation and water resources; B.V. Nikolskiy, secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee; L.B. Bernshteyn, "Gidroproyekt" Institute chief engineer for tidal power station design; A.A. Nikonov, deputy chairman of the USSR Gosagroprom and president of VASKHNIL [V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences]; A.F. Dyakov, USSR deputy minister of power and electrification; P.I. Rezhnikov, first sercretary of Kamchatka CPSU Obkom; K.A. Kesa, chief of the Estonian SSR Pyarnu interkolkhoz hog unit bioshop; and N.K. Baybakov, state counselor at the USSR Council of Ministers.

The conference was addressed by V.I. Dolgikh, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. He emphasized that the development and broad utilization of nontraditional energy resources is an urgent economic and social task whose solution would mean substantial advancement in accelerating scientific and technical progress and implementing the policy of resource saving in the national economy.

The potential for developing nontraditional energy resources in our country is vast. The proven resources of thermal waters could, according to specialists' estimates, provide annually, if exploited, a heat potential equivalent to 40-45 million tonnes of standard fuel. Broad prospects are opening up in the utilization of sun, wind, and other renewable sources of energy.

However, the conference noted that the work to develop nontraditional energy resources is proceeding extremely slowly and the volumes of organic fuel substitution are so far insignificant. In 1987 they totaled only 900,000 tonnes of standard fuel instead of the 1,230,000 tonnes planned. In the RSFSR this target indicator was fulfilled 70 percent, in the Uzbek SSR 69 percent, and in the Kazakh SSR 16 percent.

The main reason for this is the lack of discipline by leaders of a number of ministries and departments, scientific research organizations, and local organs in carrying out the adopted decisions on the development and utilization of nontraditional energy sources.

The work of the USSR Ministry of the Gas Industry in performing the functions of the leading organization for opening up and developing geothermal deposits and supplying heat to consumers with which it has been entrusted is unsatisfactory. The USSR Ministry of Geology is behind schedule in augmenting the proven stocks of geothermal waters.

The USSR State Committee for Civil Construction and Architecture, the USSR Gosagroprom, and local organs are doing little to ensure the utilization of solar energy to heat water, buildings, and hothouses, and use it for the desalination of sea water and other purposes. The USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification is dragging its feet in the creation of solar power stations. The USSR Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry is displaying an insufficiently responsible attitude to solving the problem of direct conversion of solar energy into electricity. The work of USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources enterprises and organizations to ensure the utilization of wind energy is proceeding intolerably slowly.

The successful solution of the tasks of a broader exploitation of nontraditional energy sources depends to a great extent on the scientific backup with which they are provided. Major academic and sector science forces are involved in this work, but so far the returns are not great. The performance of a number of institutions as leading organizations in their field is poor. This applies to the USSR Academy of Sciences Biochemistry Institute named for A.N. Bakh which conducts research in bioenergy technology, the RSFSR Ministry of Housing and

Municipal Services Academy of Municipal Economy in processing solid domestic refuse, and the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences in utilizing nontraditional sources of energy in agriculture. The scientific research and design work of the All-Union Institute for the Utilization of Geothermal Deposits in exploiting thermal waters is unsatisfactory.

Much criticism was leveled at the conference at the machine building ministries which are failing to meet targets for the development and delivery of special equipment. The USSR Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building is behind schedule in creating shutoff mechanisms, corrosion-resisting versions of special heat exchange equipment, and technical means for the drilling of boreholes under high temperatures. The USSR Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building is holding up the manufacture of modular biogas installations for processing agricultural waste.

It was emphasized at the conference that lack of coordination at departmental level is having a negative impact on the organization of work to ensure the development of power generation from nontraditional sources. The USSR Gosplan, the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, and the USSR Council of Ministers Bureaus for the Fuel and Energy Complex and for Machine Building must, together with ministries and departments adopt additional measures to sharply step up this work, clearly define its organizational and structural set up, and draw up and implement a range of measures to enhance economic incentives for enterprises and organizations to utilize energy from renewable sources.

Republic, kray, and oblast soviets should also play a more active part in solving problems relating to nontraditional sources of energy. The restructuring of the administrative system and the expansion of the soviets' rights create the necessary preconditions for this.

Union republic Communist Party central committees, and party kraykoms and obkoms face a great deal of work in improving their organizational work and stepping up the monitoring of enterprises, scientific research institutes, and design bureaus which are working on the development of nontraditional energy sources.

The conference was attended by deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers I.S. Silayev, and B.L. Tolstykh, secretaries of union republic Communist Party central committees, party kraykoms and obkoms, heads of a number of ministries and departments, science-and-production associations, and enterprises, and scientists.

Shcherbitskiy Addresses Meeting in Kiev

AU1506074888 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 11 Jun 88 pp 1-2

[RATAU report: "Rallying Collectives on the Ideas of Restructuring"]

[Excerpts] Both in the republic and all over the country there have been wide creative discussions on the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. [passage omitted]

What promotes restructuring, and what hinders it? How can one give a new powerful stimulus to creative work, accelerate the collective's social development, and make it more active in accomplishing political and economic tasks? What is the opinion of the Communists and non-party members about the CPSU Central Committee platform for its conference? These were the questions that determined the substance of the discussion held on 9 June at an open party meeting of the tool shop collective at the S.P. Korolev production association in Kiev. V.V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, participated in the proceedings. [passage omitted]

The party meeting was addressed by V.V. Shcherbitskiy. The republic's party organization, he said, has elected 891 delegates to the 19th all-union CPSU conference, which will examine problems of great importance for the life of the party and of the entire country. In conformity with the decision of the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum, the delegates were elected by secret ballot at obkom and Kiev Gorkom plenums.

Party organizations and labor collectives everywhere are now discussing the CPSU Central Committee Theses, which are remarkable for their creative character, for their purpose of settling the most acute and topical problems of our development. In bringing the Theses forward for nationwide examination, the CPSU Central Committee has aspired to engage all Soviet people in the development of a constructive program for deepening restructuring. More than 30,000 meetings have already been held in the republic with the participation of more than 1.5 million Communists and non-party members. Many proposals have been made.

The time that has passed since the 27th CPSU Congress and an analysis of the discussion on the Central Committee Theses show, V.V. Shcherbitskiy pointed out, that the people have unequivocally backed up the party line aimed at the further democratization and the expansion of glasnost, at perfecting our entire political system, at restoring the Leninist interpretation of the principle of democratic centralism, at changing the functions of and restructuring party organs, and at limiting the tenure of an elective post to two terms. Also the measures envisaged by the party to improve the country's national economy and to carry out a radical economic form have met with support.

At the same time quite a few speakers have rebuffed elements of demagogy that have cropped up in the discussion, the attempts to impose the opinion that

positive changes, particularly in the economy, are nonexistent, and that restructuring is skidding. All that attests to shortcomings and omissions in work among people.

The meetings have paid particular attention to the democratization of party and public life. Why have these issues come to the fore? Life has convincingly shown that all the previous attempted reforms were not brought to an end precisely because the main potential of socialism—the initiative and spontaneous activity of the masses—was not fully utilized.

In learning lessons from our history, the CPSU Central Committee has, since the April (1985) Central Committee plenum, consistently pursued the policy of reviving the Leninist principles in party and state activity, of promoting democratization and glasnost. This is precisely the guarantee of the irreversibility of restructuring. It goes without saying that this requires, primarily from the party itself, a creative reinterpretation of its functions as the leading and organizing force in Soviet society, as the vanguard of the people, requires leadership methods that suit the qualitatively new conditions.

A clear delimitation among the functions of party, administrative, and economic organs in practice constitutes one of the most complex problems. This is not the first time that this task has been posed. But the attempts to accomplish it were given up halfway. This is the reason why the conference is going to examine political mechanisms and guarantees ensuring that the functions are delimited in deed and that the party is able to concentrate its attention on tracing a political line, on organizational and educational work among the masses.

Serious restructuring has been envisaged for the activity of all party organs, and changes have been provided for the structure and methods of their work. Of course, this also applies to basic party organizations. Their main objective is to implement the party policy. But this has to be achieved not by means of commands and reprimands, but by selecting appropriate cadres, by persuading people, by rallying collectives to the ideas of restructuring, and by fostering in them an atmosphere of creative search and of high responsibility. All that requires each Communist to work actively.

It is also important for the party organization to display itself in accomplishing concrete key tasks involving the collective's life and activity. In this respect, it is essential to bring all commenced good deeds to an end and to to show as much initiative as possible. Then people will see that the party organization works and really spearheads restructuring.

In this respect, there are in the republic quite a few examples. It is essential to better advertise them and to disseminate the experience. Positive changes have also emerged in the work of the tool shop's party organization. The character of party meetings has changed, and the activity of the Communists has increased. The bureau's accountability report on leading restructuring has undoubtedly contributed to this. The Communists take great credit for the fact that, in recent years, the association's collective has successfully met the production targets. Of course, you must not rest content with what has been achieved. To ensure that party organizations, as the CPSU Central Committee emphasizes in its Theses, accomplish the tasks set for restructuring by political methods, and that the party line is pursued by every Communist, a great deal still has to be done.

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary pointed out that negative trends in the national economy both of the republic and of the country as a whole have been checked. Concrete measures have been taken to improve the financial situation of national economic branches, as well as to reduce the number of unprofitable and barely profitable production units. The pace of renewing fixed assets is growing faster.

In the 2 years, the 5-year targets for increasing the volume of production and labor productivity were exceeded. Industrial production for the first time increased without any numerical increase in the personnel. Labor productivity is increasing much faster than wages. The average annual overall agricultural production rose 7.1 percent against the 2.5 percent in the last 5-year period. Above-plan profits obtained since the beginning of the year have reached a total of R2.5 billion. In the 5 months of the current year industrial production increased 5.3 percent and labor productivity 6 percent against the corresponding 4 and 3.9 percent provided for by the annual plan. The plans were overfulfilled by the building ministries and transport.

The performance of enterprises and organizations that have switched over to economic accountability and self-financing greatly influences the rates and qualitative indexes of economic development. Their present share in the republic's total industrial production is close to 60 percent. In the 5 months of the current year, this group of enterprises exceeded the targets planned for the volume of production and labor productivity, and significantly outstripped the other enterprises that still have not switched over to the new conditions. The quality and technical level of production have improved.

However, radical improvements have not taken place in the republic's economic development, although there were conditions for it. The causes are well known. Ranking among them is the base which at a number of heavy industry and machine building enterprises is outdated and requires significant outlays for its reconstruction. There are also shortcomings in pricing and material- technical supplies.

Of course, there are also the effects of the fact that the reform has to be accomplished, as they say, on the run, under the conditions of amending the 5-year plan which was worked out before. It is to be kept in mind that most

enterprises operate under the conditions of economic independence merely for the first year. And yet this is not the only reason why the economic reform is not as effective as we would like it to be. Labor collectives still are not properly free in their initiative, and the state order [gosudarstvennyy zakaz] is unjustifiably extensive.

As is known, the CPSU Central Committee and the country's government have done a great deal to more rapidly accomplish the main tasks set for the economic reform. The things that are needed for this purpose are, of course, time and great and complex organizational work. And in this respect a great deal depends on local organs, on leaders and party organizations at industrial enterprises.

Intensive factors are still a long way from having been used to full extent, and the achievements of scientific-technological progress, as well as various forms of contracts and cooperation are being applied too slowly. Thus you have not done your best to fully apply intrashop economic accountability and to form teams working on contracts. You are also slow in reequipping production. The party organization, as well as the shop and associations leaders still have a great deal to do. Also the labor collective's council is slow to join in settling these problems.

Quite a few critical remarks have been made today about the shop and enterprise engineers, technicians, and leaders. It is to be admitted that most of them work intensively, and that what they do is very necessary and important. Restructuring without leaders, specialists, and production organizers is impossible. Consequently, it is essential not only to criticize, but also to assist them, to encourage enterprising and creative workers, and to boost their prestige.

The party organization must also make persistent efforts to convince every member of the collective that it is impossible to deepen democracy without tightening discipline: a conscious discipline based on deep respect for the law, on the conscientious discharging of one's duties.

A strong social policy, V.V. Shcherbitskiy continued, has top priority in the party's activity. Since the beginning of the 5-year period, additional funds for the development of the social sphere have amounted to R2.7 billion. In the 2 years, the increase in wages, payments and allowances from communal funds exceeded the 5-year indexes.

The "Housing-2000" comprehensive special-purpose program worked out in the republic calls for the construction of 338 million square meters of housing space. Some 63 percent of the total are to be built by contracted organizations, 15 percent by direct labor, and 22 percent by individual house owners. The housing area built in 3 years from state capital investments will exceed the 5-year targets by 10 million square meters. This will allow nearly 1 million persons to celebrate their house warming parties sooner. A great deal is also being done to expand services rendered to the population, including by organizing various cooperatives.

But there are still many problems, particularly in providing the population with foodstuffs, consumer and medical services. The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's government are working on these problems constantly and, one can say, daily. However, the Food Program and the Comprehensive Program for Goods and Services still have not been fully implemented. This is why the demand for meat and some milk products—and, most recently, also for sugar and many non-food articles—has not been met. And this results in the failure to fulfill the plans for commodity turnover and, occasionally, in delayed payments of wages. Steps have been taken to remedy this situation.

In agriculture, the current year is proving to be rather favorable, and this fact is reassuring. In most oblasts, the situation in the fields is better than last year. And the abundance of grain and fodder will raise stockbreeding productivity and will improve supplies to the population.

While accomplishing the radical economic reform, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's government are making efforts to improve economic management. We have worked out a new general management scheme which provides the conditions necessary to switch over from administrative methods of management to predominantly economic ones. The role of local soviets in the control of socioeconomic development on their territories is increasing.

Nine ministries and departments will be abolished, and the number of republic-level structural subunits will be reduced by more than one-third. Steps are being taken to streamline administration at the rayon, the city, and the basic level, that is directly at enterprises.

As a result, the personnel of the republic's administrative apparatus, including public organizations, will be reduced by 93,000 functionaries with salaries totaling R140 million annually.

To ensure socioeconomic progress in the republic and in every labor collective, it is necessary to take better advantage of the new forms of management, of the existing reserves and possibilities, to speed up the development of machine building, and to more rapidly create the base necessary for capital construction and the construction industry.

In touching upon international affairs, the speaker noted that positive worldwide processes were increasingly dynamic. All Soviet people and people of good will all over the world have received the ratification of the treaty on the destruction of two kinds of deadly nuclear weapons, intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, and the results of M.S. Gorbachev's Moscow meeting with the

U.S. President, R. Reagan, with approval and hope. The new political thinking has also evidently manifested itself in the Geneva accords on Afghanistan. All that will undoubtedly improve our country's foreign political positions, and has marked a significant step toward an improvement in the international situation. Consequently, notwithstanding all complications and difficulties, the process of restructuring international relations has already begun.

At the end V.V. Shcherbitskiy emphasized that restructuring was a complex undertaking, but the path selected was correct; that the plans were intense, but feasible. For this reason it is essential already now to ponder how to put into effect every clause of the Theses, to deepen restructuring, to perfect and renew our socialist homeland. [passage omitted]

Before the meeting V.V. Shcherbitskiy met in the association's technical laboratory the leaders, scientists, and specialists to discuss problems concerning the collective's work under the conditions of full economic accountability and self-financing, of reequipping production, of renewing products, and particularly of increasing the production of consumer goods.

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary inspected the exhibition of equipment made by the association, including personal electronic computers, radio receivers, electronic systems for digitally controlled machines, equipment for medical examination, radioactivity meters [radioizmeritelnyye pribory], and modern toys for children. Attention was called to the need to increase the production of goods that are up to the world's standards.

V.V. Shcherbitskiy visited the tool shop, production sectors, and the scientific research department for hard alloys that develops and makes new materials and instruments. In conversations with the workers he inquired about the application of scientific and technological achievements and of advanced forms of organizing labor and wages, and about living and recreation conditions enjoyed by the enterprise laborers.

V.V. Shcherbitskiy was accompanied by K.I. Masik, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo candidate member and Kiev Gorkom first secretary; L.L. Nikiforov, director general of the association; and A.F. Yeklema, secretary of the association's party committee.

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In a report on the occasion, Metropolitan Filaret of Kiev and Galich, the Patriarchal Exarch of the Ukraine, emphasised that the adoption of Christianity in its eastern Byzantine tradition by Kievan Russia and the formation of the Russian Orthodox Church had become a major component of world history.

The speaker pointed out that "our country has long been called holy Russia. This was prompted by the Russian people's ideals which are still kept in the secret recesses of the Russian soul up to now."

"When we speak of Russian soul or Russian people", he emphasised, "We mean not only Russians proper but also the Ukrainians and Belorussians who emerged from one root—Kievan Russia."

Recalling the circumstances of the proclamatioon of the so-called Brest Union, Metropolitan Filaret pointed out that it had been portrayed as a union of churches while in actual fact it had turned out to be a new schism. It had divided the Kievan metropolis and disunited the hierarchy and the people. The Brest Union had been prepared secretly from the church people and had been adopted without synodical consent. It had been the work of bishops. A difficult situation had developed when the Orthodox people had been headed by non-Orthodox, uniate hierarchy. Uniate bishops had viewed their subordination to the Roman authority as a "Union of Churches" and had regarded the resistance of church people as a canonical breach and disobedience to the legitimate hierarchal authority. Instead of church unity, the Brest Union had brought about hostility and hatred among the consaguineous people. The struggle against the union had been, first of all, a manifestation of the synodical self-awareness of the church people.

The report pointed out that the Church in Russia had not stayed aloof from social life with its anxieties and concerns. Throughout the entire thousand-years-long the Church had been together with the people. This had particularly manifested itself during the Second World War years when the Church had rendered spiritual support to the people. In the occupied territory, Orthodox clergy had participated in the partisan movement, and monsteries had sheltered Soviet people being persecuted by the Nazis. The Church had given aid to the wounded and to the families of Soviet servicemen. In our days, too, the Church continues to serve the well-being of its people and nothing can shaken or change its patriotic standing.

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joy among the many-million flock", he said, "was aroused by the transfer of part of the famous Kiev-Pchery Laura to the Orthodox Church."

The exarch of the Ukraine described as historic Mikhail Gorbachev's meeting in the Kremlin with Patriarch Pimen and the Holy Synod, and expressed heartfelt gratitude to the Soviet leadership and to the government of the Ukraine for the well-wishing attitude to the needs of the church.

Those present were addressed in speeches of greetings by Patriarch Diodoros the First of Jerusalem, Patriarch Feoktist of Romania, Patriarch Maxim of Bulgaria, Archbishop Khrisostomos of Cyprus, Cardinal Johannes Willebrands, President of the Vatican Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity, and by representatives of other confessions and public organizations.

The ceremonial function was attended by prominent religious figures from the Soviet Union and many foreign countries. Also present were Maria Orlik, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic, Yuriy Bakhtin, vice-president of the Presidium of the Ukraine, Konstantin Kharchev, chairman of the Council for Religious Affairs under the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Nikolay Kolesnik, chairman of the Council of Religious Affairs under the Ukrainian Council of Ministers, Valentin Zgurskiy, the mayor of Kiev, and representatives of public organizations.

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In Leningrad, the jubilee ceremonies are attended by head of the Orthodox Church in Poland, Metropolitan of Warsaw and Poland Bazyli.

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In reality, there are quite a few examples of both. But nobody will dispute the fact that the current generation of Communists has never (?viewed) the kind of elections we are now using. On the eve of the elections, both members of the party and nonparty people were as active as never before. In Moscow many thousands of people put their signatures to an appeal saying that the most active representatives of the Moscow professionals should be elected to the conference. In Omsk 7,000 local residents gathered at a station to discuss the nomination procedure. In Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk a spontaneous rally passed a verdict of no confidence in the first secretary of the regional party committee, already elected to the conference.

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Academics Criticize Conference Theses

PM0606160088 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 4 Jun 88 p 2

[Unattributed report on contributions to roundtable discussion by I. Diskin, deputy chairman of the USSR Academy of Sciences Scientific Council for the Comprehensive Problem of Social and Cultural Development; Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Yu. Levada of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics and the Forecasting of Scientific and Technical Progress; Doctor of Juridical Sciences M. Piskotin of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of State and Law; I.

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Lukin, first secretary of Moscow's Proletarskiy party raykom; Doctor of Historical Sciences N. Popov of the USSR Academy of Sciences United States and Canada Institute; and A. Shokhin, member of the Soviet Sociological Association Presidium, under the rubric "We Discuss the CPSU Central Committee Theses": "Via Debate To Action!"—first paragraph is SOVETSKAYA KULTURA introduction]

[Text] The following took part in the discussion held recently at the editorial office: I. Diskin, deputy chairman of the USSR Academy of Sciences Scientific Council for the Comprehensive Problem of Social and Cultural Development; Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Yu. Levada (USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics and the Forecasting of Scientific and Technical Progress); Doctor of Juridical Sciences M. Piskotin (USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of State and Law); I. Lukin, first secretary of Moscow's Proletarskiy party raykom; Doctor of Historical Sciences N. Popov (USSR Academy of Sciences United States and Canada Institute); and A. Shokhin, member of the Soviet Sociological Association Presidium.

Yu. Levada: "What do we need: unanimity just for show or real, workmanlike, thriving life within society and the party? Unanimity is almost always unthinking. The ancients' formula that 'truth emerges from argument' is something that we have still not grasped." [subhead]

The Theses confirm the main directions of restructuring, though not all expectations have been realized.

First, the Theses have been published just a month before the conference opens. This means that there is considerably less than a month for discussion of them. Yet without a critical debate we will end up with a consolidation of the existing situation. That situation is this. The ship is sailing on, very sensible and wise commands to change direction are ringing out on the bridge, but the ship is following its former course. Either the people in the engine room cannot hear these commands, or they cannot change direction because the mass of the ship is so colossal. However, the Theses are not all that much help in grasping what exactly the conference delegates should choose, what exactly they should decide. I think they seriously lack the presentation of alternatives, the opportunity to choose between different options.

Moreover, I think the Theses are influenced by the present juncture of compromise between different forces. The fact that conflicts and compromises exist is a normal feature of the political life of any society, ours included. But is it right to emphasize only the element of compromise? It is said that arguments and debates must not lead to confrontation and disunity, which complicates the resolution of vital tasks. But there are forces from which one must dissociate oneself.

After all, there is the trend that was described in April as opposed to restructuring. I think there is a need to dissociate ourselves from that trend, both from the people who spoke out and from those who supported the speakers.

The question of the rights of minority are linked with this. The Theses repeat the formula that total freedom of debate is possible until a decision is adopted. So after decisions are adopted are we supposed to think or not? Who adopted the decisions on redirecting rivers? If we had thought that they could not be criticized, that there must be nothing but unity of action in implementing them, we would have ended up in a mess that we would have been unable to get out of before the end of the century. That's not the only example.

What do we need: unanimity just for show or real, workmanlike, thriving life within society and the party? Unanimity is almost always unthinking. But we have a complex society. A unanimous vote is usually an indifferent vote.

Real people can never subscribe to a single viewpoint. If these people have voted in proportions of 6:3:1 then it is possible to believe: Yes, they have thought, yes, they have argued, yes, they have reached a decision, but some people hold a different view. But when we read that everyone has voted "in favor," this means that they have not thought and have decided to do the same as everyone else, according to the rules of commonplace standard conformism, because nobody is ever penalized for conformism.

One of the tasks of our present struggle is to attain a different way of thinking and acting.

The main problem of the movement toward democratization and toward efficiency in our economy is to remove the dead hand of the knot that ties together the political, economic, and ideological spheres in our country. Ties them together so tightly that it impedes movement. When, say, the functions of authority are monopolized by party organizations from top to bottom, these functions themselves change their nature and political leadership is transformed into petty control. The same thing happens when the Politburo allocates capital investments in the country. This means that Gosplan is discredited, the Council of Ministers too, and the level of leadership declines since its political functions are weakened. In Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan the plan was fulfilled or underfulfilled, subbotniks were better or worse organized, but people were unable to counter the total corruption. And in Armenia, when people took to the streets, the Communists were unable to find their bearings in the situation. Thus political leadership has been partially lost. This is a result of the fact that the functions of fulfilling current plans have been reduced to chivying. And no one can handle these universal chivying functions performed by party organizations, they must simply be eliminated.

Here's another example. Our readers have learned a very important thing from the Theses for the first time: Our state budget has a deficit. However, each year the Supreme Soviet approves a report on budget implementation in which income exceeds expenditure. This recurs every, year. Of course, specialists know that the real situation is different. But who is fooling whom? Why has no deputy among that huge body requested any additional information or voiced doubts? Because a deputy has neither the potential nor the time to probe the essence of the matter. That situation must be changed.

I. Lukin: "The administrative edict system is paradoxical in a way: The party committee, while being responsible for everything, in practice has not borne responsibility for its instructions." [subhead]

The CPSU Central Committee Theses for the party conference are not a readymade decision but a political platform on which a debate can and must be developed. What is to stop us from concretizing some propositions that seem rather general?

But there are cardinal questions that cannot be overlooked. I think that a stereotyped view has emerged in our country that party apparatuses cling strongly to their power and refuse to part with it. That they avoid the switch to political leadership methods. I think that the reasons here lie much deeper than they appear to at first glance. After all, there is another side to the question of handing over power: There needs to be someone to take it. However, we are observing a psychological unreadiness on the part of both economic leaders and soviet organs to assume full powers. After all, they have long been accustomed to parallelism, to the party apparatus being responsible for everything. But while being responsible for everything—and this is the paradox of the administrative edict system—the raykom has not borne an equivalent responsibility for the consequences of its instructions at enterprise level, for instance. At the same time, using its party authority, it has forced leaders to obey. This is how incompetent decisions forcibly implemented by party authority have come into being.

But I view things optimistically. Changes are under way. For instance, our major association, the Likhachev Motor Vehicle Plant, is proving its ability to act independently. But it has plenty of economists and organizers! Small enterprises lack such skills as yet.

Here's another example, this one from the sphere of our relations with the soviets. You remember how Moscow was suddenly full of fairs 18 months ago. The raykoms dealt with them down to petty details. Today this seems ridiculous. Soviet organs are coping without us, even though such fairs require very great organizational efforts. But I am convinced that soviets should not ask for power from raykoms, but take it. And do so resolutely. Of course, it is an error to think that the reallocation of duties is proceeding smoothly. Everyone is very used to petty tutelage—both the raykoms and the soviets.... So let's relearn our ways.

There's a lot of talk of the conservatism of the party apparatus. But is it possible to forget that there have been very substantial changes in the apparatuses over the 3 years of restructuring? New people with a new mentality have arrived. For instance, in the capital's Proletarskiy Rayon both party committees and the raykom apparatus have been 70 percent renewed. I would say more—many people have lost out in terms of wages, and that in itself shows that their motives are not based on careerist goals. The new cadres have injected a strong fresh stream by virtue of both their age and the fact that apparatus work is new to them.

Mikhail Ivanovich [Piskotin] touched on the election of deputies. Indeed, today the voter has very little power over the deputy. Candidates are nominated on behalf of the labor collective, but people vote according to their place of residence and sometimes know nothing of their future representative apart from the biography posted in the lobby. In our rayon several candidates per seat were nominated in the last election. But even this is not a guarantee of genuine democracy, although, of course, people's political activeness increases with this procedure. The election system must be based on voters exercising real power over their deputies. And party organizations must use their authority by supporting real leaders and not supporting those who are obsessed only with personal ambition.

Overall, the Theses provide much food for thought. And we see it as our task, even in the short time remaining, to organize the discussion of them in such a way that all opinions can be taken into account as far as possible.

N. Popov: "It is necessary to foster anew a culture of pluralism, tolerance, and dissent.... We have emerged from the woods into a field, and the sun of freedom is blinding; we must get accustomed to it. At the same time we must not stop." [subhead]

First of all a few words about the document as a whole. It arouses feelings of deep respect in me. Its very publication is a step in restructuring. For the first time in over 50 years the party leadership is turning to ordinary members and the whole people not with a finished document to which it is proposed to make merely cosmetic changes but with an invitation to debate, to joint reflection on the fate of our country, and to self-critical analysis of what has already been done and what we have yet to do.

The various sections of the Theses are not equivalent in terms of the level of generalizations and the amount of detail, and many problems are merely mentioned. But on

the whole they offer an honest and realistic assessment of the present situation and outline the contours of revolutionary transformations in the political and socioeconomic system.

Gratifying as it is that the Theses outline so many new, unprecedented approaches toward solving our problems, it is deplorable that in practice less than a month remains to discuss them. In a month it is impossible to have a serious discussion of even one new law, the Law on the Cooperative System, say, and here it is a question of revolution, of cardinal changes in almost all spheres of life. Clearly, by the time of the conference not only will this discussion be unfinished, it will be merely flaring up.

Moreover, it is already clear that by no means everywhere has it been possible to elect pioneers of restructuring as conference delegates, as the Central Committee urged. On the whole the apparatus has mustered its own people, leaders at various levels, and many true innovators have been left out.

So it is all the more important for the conference to be a nationwide forum and open debate.

In this connection I would like to turn to the first paragraph of the Theses, which contains many accurate descriptions of the present political situation in the country but merely outlines one important point which is the key to political restructuring and democratization: "We need a constantly operating mechanism for comparing views and for criticism and self-criticism in the party and society.... Under the one-party system...this question is vitally important." It is hard to put it more strongly. Such a mechanism is needed today, but as yet there are no prescriptions. One way, for instance, could be to turn party conferences into regular, maybe annual, events. We were silent for so long—it is now time to speak out fearlessly on all questions.

One of the ways of creating such a mechanism is an independent press. Alongside the party, state, and trade union press there must be newspapers that are at no one's beck and call, that no one can close, where no one can fire the editor or prohibit publication of an article. Especially at local level—in oblasts and rayons the local authorities now confidently suppress any criticism of them in the local press, and fighters for truth and justice invariably have to go to PRAVDA, IZVESTIYA, or some other central paper in order to publish pieces about negligence, corruption, or lawlessness in Fergana, Odessa, Yerevan, or Astrakhan.

If we did not have to press ahead with our current discussion, the conference, and restructuring in general, it would be necessary to write volumes of analysis about the Theses—everything in them is new and untried. In the economy now it is not exactly the NEP, and in politics it is not the twenties either. However, now we must primarily touch on the topics that are least clearly outlined. For instance, that of the socialist legal state.

We have built socialism, but was it the socialism we wanted, and where do we want to go from here? The structure of political power must also be consonant with the type of society we want to build. How precisely, in detail, should people's power be organized? Do we want a presidential republic or a parliamentary republic at the top level of the state structure? People write in letters—and this proposal has now been put forward—that the chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, as the supreme state leader, should be elected by direct universal suffrage. What above all will be his functions, what will be the role of the general secretary, what will be the functions of the party? All this must be enshrined in the Constitution, and we cannot avoid a revision of it.

Even before the reform of the Constitution and the party rules, there are a number of steps that can be taken in the sphere of separating the functions of party and soviet organs, primarily eliminating all specialized, sectorial departments in party raykoms, gorkoms, and obkoms, thereby focusing the party's activity on political, propaganda work, on the struggle for restructuring by political methods.

It has already been said here that the problem is not only that party organs are reluctant to share power, but also that the soviets are reluctant and often unable to assume full administrative and economic power. To a considerable extent this is because the soviets have little power, they have no rights to influence major enterprises within their territory—here too, constitutional reform is unavoidable.

Public organizations must play an important role in the process of the reform of our electoral system, to which the Theses devote just two paragraphs. They must nominate candidates together with the party, and the mass media, especially the independent media, must acquaint voters with the candidates and their political line within the context of the election campaign. This would be real socialist pluralism in action.

The principle of competition must be disseminated here, as it must in the economy and throughout our life. People often ask what should be done with the losers in elections. This is part of the political, economic struggle and we too must learn this—how to conduct polemics in a dignified fashion, without descending into insults and name-calling, and how to lose.

In general, the thing we can really be proud of in the last 3 years is that we speak the truth considerably more often, although not always the full truth and not always immediately. The upcoming conference must be another important lesson in openness and democracy in this respect.

I. Diskin: "In my view, the theses reflect a certain legal euphoria: You need only think up good laws, and things will go well. Is this really so?" [subhead]

The Theses are a mirror of the contemporary development of our society and of the ideas forming the basis of restructuring. Since they are a mirror, there's no point blaming them. It is necessary to study the political reality reflected in the Theses, in all their contradictoriness. The entire course of our political development—I would call it the priority principle—is as follows. First of all, as happened when the NEP was created, we form advanced political institutions and economic mechanisms, and then we pull our culture up to the same level. In my view, the Theses reflect a certain "legal euphoria," the idea that we need only think up good laws, and we will thereby resolve many questions.

The 12th All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik) Congress said that the party, which had taken power, was building the economy, carrying out colossal work, and was bound to make mistakes. Only the collective opinion of the party as a whole can prevent these mistakes. The collective opinion must be formulated in organizational forums. We have neither clubs nor other organizations where party members can exchange opinions and develop this collective experience. The creation of party debating clubs is extremely necessary today. This would help to revive the atmosphere of party comradeship in which all party members, regardless of rank, are on familiar terms with each other. Nowadays it seems strange to us even to recall this. This would make it possible to promote real, vigorous people who not only say "This is terrible, terrible," but are also prepared to say: How has this happened? So long as they do this at meetings of informal associations, I think no leader of party organs is going to accept what they say as relevant to himself. But when this is proposed in party clubs, a thing or two about real leadership will begin to emerge.

A second point. For the party to become democratic, it is necessary for the laws of its life to coincide with the laws of society's life. Guarantees for the minority are needed if we want to conduct serious political debates. Provided, of course, that this minority does not place the party in conditions of a split. The question of the limits to permissible disagreements within the party must be raised again most clearly and pointedly. It is necessary to revive tolerance, tactfulness, and respect for dissenters, which is something that, to be blunt, we lack among the party.

Today party control organs are entrusted with the functions simultaneously of Prosecutor's Office and investigation, and the Party Control Committee at the same time also performs the functions of party court.

My specific proposal is this: clear separation of functions. While party control organs can also perform the functions of party inquiry, the functions of party court must be performed by special party bodies in which rank-and-file Communists would take part.

The entire democratic mood of society will be determined by how far the party lives strictly according to the laws of democracy.

A. Shokhin: "It would be disastrous and immoral to create the illusion that restructuring is already bearing fruit and to implement merely short-term half-measures. Surely it is better to tackle the most difficult matters, even if you run into upheavals." [subhead]

It is clear that conservatism is the reason for the slow progress. What are its sources? We usually interpret it as an antirestructuring process and even identify it with an approach aiming to restore the past. But it is a more complex phenomenon: Conservatism is not so simple; it holds a substantial trump card against changes—suppose things get worse?

After all, there are also several trends within the restructuring movement itself. What is noticeably forging ahead is the pragmatic approach, which is proposing the most radical measures in economic life, in particular, developing the market in all its forms, including capital. But it is clear even to the naked eye that this will involve conflicts and that this may be fraught with inflation and temporary instability. Conservatism is on the alert here. What lies behind it is a wish to prevent negative collisions. Here it constitutes a factor for stability. There is yet another trend—that of political liberalization, which advocates the development of parliamentarianism and the ensuring of political freedoms. Here too conservatism is ever-watchful—lest we overstep the bounds of the socialist type of development.

So it seems to me that what is required of society is consistent steps along the road of democratization. Without hurry and haste. After all, we already have negative experience of democratization.

Events in the Transcaucasus show that a group of people can inspire the mass of the people and lead them in their footsteps. The fears are not without foundation. We must act without haste.

But also without delay. After all, the reform in the economy cannot be implemented without changes in the political system. Nevertheless, this is not a justification for delay. For a kind of respite in the economic sphere. There are few problems in the economic section [of the Theses]. They have fallen out of the document's sphere of attention. The main question is how to ensure the real priority of reform. To the surprise of most economists, the Theses raise this question in a different dimension: Priority is given to fulfilling the quantitative indicators of the 5-year plan. Yet the plan was drawn up in the prereform period and leaves no potential for maneuver to secure a new quality of economic mechanism.

What other questions need to be discussed? M.S. Gorbachev raised the task of making the transition to a legal state. How is this to be implemented in the economic

sphere? Very good laws have been adopted: on the cooperative system and the state enterprise. But they still do not form the framework of a legal state in the economy. What is missing? Complete separation of rights and duties and separation of economic power, in which the functions of ministries and departments would be fully defined. Without mechanisms for the legal defense of enterprises and the legal restriction of the activities of ministries and departments, we will not make headway. As yet there is just one prescription: If we cut staffs and are "rigorously exacting," bureaucracy will be overcome. But it won't be. For this it is necessary to radically change the functions of the upper echelons of management and to transform them from commanders of enterprises into equal partners.

It is also necessary to discuss the social aspects of economic reform. The Theses mention price reform. Specialists know that a draft reform exists, but nationwide discussion of it will take place only after all departments have rubber-stamped it. Surely this will be too late? Perhaps some possibilities could be discussed right now and alternative options could be outlined?

Both Sovietologists and our own economists are now saying that the social base for reform depends largely on the availability of goods in the stores. There is some truth in that. But I believe that the fate of restructuring depends not only on store windows but also on the political will to move toward democratization of society and radical reform. Surely it is better to tackle the most difficult matters, even if you run into upheavals? This will produce more results in the long term than half-measures will. Moreover, we will also be able to feed the country more swiftly.

M. Piskotin: "We must put into practice self-nomination for elected office. This is the only way in which more individuals can appear in the political arena." [subhead]

A note that has very often been struck in our discussions lately is that the conference is our last chance. If that were so, things would be bad in our country. Of course, the conference is a major landmark, possibly of comparable significance to the 20th or 27th CPSU Congresses, but profound qualitative changes in our sociopolitical life will require long-term efforts. Here too it is important to assess the prevailing situation correctly.

The theses contain a very precise assessment: "Positive results have been achieved, but they give no grounds for speaking of a fundamental breakthrough in the country's socioeconomic development." Why is this? Because two currents carrying different charges have collided. One is pulling forward, the other is pushing back. And the "old way" is based on the established system and the existing management apparatus. As yet no great changes have occurred in our political and economic system. We now feel more keenly than ever how closely they are linked in our country. After all, back at the start of restructuring it emerged that without changes in the political system we would not be able to carry out serious economic reform. And now, on the eve of profound changes in the political system, we realize that these are impossible without shifts in the economic mechanism as a whole. In short, unless we smash the administrative edict system of party-state leadership of the country, we will be able to do nothing serious in either the economic or political spheres.

We often allude to resistance by managers and say that things have advanced greatly at the enterprise level but are at a standstill at the ministry level. But say a minister would like to work in the new way, but he gets a phone call saying that freight is stuck at some railroad station, and one plant is not getting its raw materials and another its subassemblies. He cannot help becoming a dispatcher, a fixer—in other words, returning to the old methods.

Development of the socialist market may change a great deal. But what are we really doing in this respect? Very little. This is the weakest point of our whole restructuring. What is the market? It is wholesale trade, price reform, the elimination of shortages, the organization of information, and the creation of instruments serving the market as a whole. Today the task is to make the economy a freer sphere. And this entails qualitative changes in the political system. The CPSU Central Committee Theses contain hints about this, but propose no cardinal measures. Yet such measures are necessary when it comes to the correlation between the efforts of party, state, and economic organs.

It has to be said that the general nature of all party work and leadership methods is determined by the Politburo. For several years now we have read the information reports and seen the range of questions that are examined. They include many that could have been resolved without the intervention of such a high party organ. The Theses rightly speak of focusing the efforts of party organs on formulating the political strategy and solving fundamental problems, and if we care about deepening restructuring, this proposition of the Theses must apply above all to our party's Central Committee. There is much to be considered, including the expediency of the existence of sectorial departments in its apparatus. But the main thing, in my view (and the Theses partially reflect this), is to change our notions of democratic centralism. For at present a great deal depends on the chance correlation of votes within the top echelon of political leadership. But can the country's development continue to depend on the disposition of forces within a narrow circle of individuals? I think there must be changes in the procedure for forming leading organs, electing the Politburo, electing the general secretary, and so forth.

Incidentally, this is a general question; it applies both to the party and to our soviets. How are candidates for election to plenipotentiary organs nominated? I think a great deal could change if we recognized the institution

of self-nomination. After all, the rejection of it makes the entire election procedure dependent on the apparatus. The apparatus decides whether an individual is to appear in the political arena or not.

Self-nomination and the nomination of several candidates, with guaranteed free discussion of each candidacy—that is the practice that must be developed. And nominations must also come from informal organizations. Since we acknowledge the positive role of a number of informal associations, why not grant them this right?

Now a few words about the size of the body of deputies. It is too big, I think. Just think: There are 1,500 people in the USSR Supreme Soviet.... Is everyone who possesses the lofty Supreme Soviet mandate an active politician? Relevant procedures in the activity of our representative organs must be developed from this viewpoint. We all remember how the draft Law on the Judicial Appeal of Illegal Actions by Officials was discussed. During the session certain deputies began to voice criticisms, but the Supreme Soviet was unaccustomed to hearing this, and anyhow just a few hours were set aside for discussing the draft law. As a result there was a hitch and an unprecedented decision: The law was adopted, but the standing commissions were instructed to improve the law which had already been ratified. What can we make of this? The point is that we have not seriously tackled the question of the legislative organization of the Supreme Soviet's activity. So there is no legislative procedure. The fact that bourgeois parliaments have two or three readings of bills is not just some kind of game to fool the ordinary people. It is a necessary condition for adopting carefully considered laws.

Take the discussion of the plan and budget. The USSR Supreme Soviet approves the union budget and the funds spent by union departments according to just two indicators—income and expenditure. More detailed study is required today, with the approval of targeted programs and prioritization.

Democracy is inconceivable without a developed system of political institutions. If we are seriously thinking of reforms, the closest attention must be paid to this system.

Program Features Public Opinion of Theses

LD1206005188 [Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1445 GMT on 11 June broadcasts the 15-minute program, "Toward the 19th All-Union Party Conference—Thinking Aloud: Soviet People Discuss the CPSU Central Committee Theses," presented by journalists Ya. Smirnov and B. Simonov. Consisting of interviews with people from various walks of life, the program reviews the evolution of attitudes toward the Theses. The presenters mention that they have received 7,000 letters since the launch 6 months ago of a questionnaire on restructuring, and that these letters lately have become more critical as people begin to shrug off old concepts and evolve toward a more active civic stance.

A State Committee for Standards employee, who identifies himself as (B.S. Kokhan), says: "We may, indeed, be in a period of transition, but for the moment it is clear that all these innovations are coming up against an administrative apparatus that has evolved over many years, and they are progressing very, very slowly. I even get the impresion that they are not moving in the direction we would like."

(Kokhan) is followed by repair mechanic (S.P. Gavrilov), who says: "Where I work, some people want to take up the struggle, but others are simply afraid. If they try to struggle against the bureaucracy, they might be deprived of their bonuses or have some other measures taken against them, right up to being fired under some specious pretext. It goes so far that even when you ask some elementary question about, say, why a certain thing has to be done, they just reply: It's none of your business. Shut up and get on with the work."

An unidentified lawyer then confirms that the restructuring is proceeding with difficulty and appeals for a resolute party conference. "This restructuring in the direction of democracy sometimes takes on monstrous forms, in my view. Take Pamyat, for example. It has sprung up on the basis of democracy, but just take a look at it. I could give numerous other examples where people are using the opportunities for expanding democracy for evil purposes. Democracy is a fine thing, but there still must and ought to be law and order in any state."

(L.I. Galyukova), a public catering worker from Moscow, then states that "the party conference will be a great relief to us all, because people are unhappy about these special order centers and all these special shops. Those who are higher up than us were not elected by us; they simply were appointed." She adds: "All these special shops and rest homes have to be abolished; they are totally unnecessary. Let the higher-ups live like ordinary people. Let everyone live just the way all of us do. This restructuring has really opened our eyes. Before, we used to be deaf and dumb; we did not have the right to say anything about anything at all."

A second woman, (S.E. Arayeva), supports this view: "As long as we have here in Moscow a fourth directorate, and special supplies and deliveries for those above us, there can be no restructuring. We go to polyclinics, and stand around in queues and shops. Let them use our shops and our services as well! They are already living under communism, but where are we living? Everyone knows how bad supplies are! It now has gone so far that sugar is rationed! Only when there is no differentiation among us will there be restructuring, but will this be taken into consideration?"

Further interviewees quote sections of the Theses and express their support.

Summing up the program, Smirnov says: "From the letters and the recordings we have heard in this broadcast, it is not hard to reach the conclusion that the irreversibility of the changes underway is becoming more and more evident. There is a growing number of active supporters of the reforms being implemented on the party's initiative and under its leadership, and it is natural that anyone who is concerned not just about the present day, but about our society's future as well, wants to find his place in transforming socialist potential into a genuine triumph of socialism."

Readers' Letters View CPSU Conference Theses

PM0106130988 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 31 May 88 p 2

[Letters feature under general heading: "19th All-Union Party Congress: Behind the Lines of the CPSU Central Committee Theses"—boldface as published]

[Excerpts] Opponents "on Principle?" [subhead]

Who do I call the principled opponents of restructuring? Primarily those whom the renewal of Soviet society does not threaten with the loss of their job, who are not affected materially, who are not required to make changes in their work style or their relationships with people. In contrast to the management apparatus worker obliged to change his "chair" and to part with his usual "paper" work, with his privileges and his unjustifiably high salary, which should generate in him concealed or overt resistance to changes in society, the principled opponent of restructuring is a convinced opponent.

The strength of the principled opponents of restructuring lies in...theory. To be more precise in the lack of theory of its supporters. The time has passed when victory in debates was won by the person who was able to slip in an appropriate quotation on any subject more rapidly, so what do the participants in today's debates say and how? They speak of the threat to socialism, the destruction of socialism, the renunciation of socialism.... What are the supporters of restructuring calling for? The resurrection of socialism, its purging of deformations.... Appeals achieved through suffering, long awaited appeals—but how theoretically convincing are they?

For decades one single model for socialism has been set forth in sociopolitical literature, textbooks, scientific articles, and monographs. An entirely specific idea of what socialism is took shape in the awareness of many millions of readers. Popular articles which have been published recently about Lenin's ideas of economically accountable [khozraschetnyy] socialism contain little that is comprehensible and abound in general arguments about democracy, the public form of ownership, the cooperative movement, the law of cost, and so forth. So we failed to receive an in-depth, comprehensible reply to the questions: Where were the objective social laws and when did lawlessness and tyranny occur? Why did the right to ownership by the entire people not prevent the large-scale crimes by the party and economic leadership in a number of republics and oblasts? What was natural and what fortuitous in the history of our society?

The principled opponents of restructuring can for the time being quite well permit themselves the luxury of simply not understanding that nowadays the term "socialism" is used by people to signify a whole conglomerate of discrete forms of exchange, management, and ownership based on different principles which are sometimes essentially opposite.

Let's recall how many uprisings of the oppressed, how many revolutions both successful and defeated, there have been in the many thousands of years of man's history. Surely the oppressed were not motivated by the desire to establish public ownership of the means of production? Always and everywhere they were motivated by just one thing—the desire to put an end to oppression, injustice, and exploitation. And any form of exploitation is always the appropriation of the results of one man's work by another. How this is done is a secondary question. Whether a thief puts his hand in your pocket before your very eyes or whether he first forces you to put "your purse in the common coffer" and only then takes part of the coffer's contents—the change in your material living standard will be the same. It is not the method but the size of what has been appropriated which is important. How to determine it? Obviously only through work. Work is a physical quantity. And man's exploitation of man is a physical and therefore calculable quantity. For a correct assessment of any social phenomena this quantity must be computed and its absence should not be declared "once and for all." Can this quantity be computed or modeled during the transition to economic accountability [khozraschet] of a supporter of restructuring? No, it cannot. Just as nothing else in society can be computed or modeled. A theory of society is needed for this. And we do not have this theory. That is our main weakness.

I believe that during the 19th all-union party conference **it is essential to show graphically the theoretical unsoundness of the principled opponents of restructuring. I am convinced that this could be preceded by an all-union conference on the theory of restructuring. At this conference it is essential not only to show the theoretical unsoundness of its opponents "from the left" and "from the right" but also to discuss various rival models for restructuring from its supporters.** This discussion of models will promote the successful work of the party conference.

[Signed] G. Shenderyuk, Moscow [passage omitted]

Pressure on Local Press [subhead]

It is universally recognized that one of restructuring's most powerful supports today is the central press. But locally the situation is different: people there frequently seek to keep the local papers strictly in check. As a result bureaucrats of all hues and ranks fear only the central press. And correspondents from Moscow are not such frequent guests even at oblast centers, never mind the backwoods.

If the local press starts to speak in the same voice and the same language as the central press, conservatives and time-servers would lose their cozy seats far more quickly and they would be replaced far more quickly by people like Gorbachev and Kolbin.

I like to leaf through the newspaper files of the first half of the twenties. When you read old issues of PRAVDA you are convinced that then in the full sense of the word there were no zones of individuals closed to criticism. Anyone could criticize and could conduct polemics with whoever he chose. No one compared the height of the posts held. I remember how surprised I was when I read in PRAVDA a letter from a peasant disagreeing with Lenin on some question. Here you are surprised that now, a little more than 60 years later, some rayon or oblast leader believes that the local press should not contain even a hint of a rebuke against him. Here, many local leaders are sincerely convinced that a ban on criticism in the local press is nothing other than the observance of the principle of party leadership of the press and not the grossest flouting of this principle. In the opinion of some comrades, you see, it is unethical for a party obkom organ to criticize an obkom secretary.

No less absurd, in my view, is the idea that the youth press should not criticize party workers. This opinion is enshrined nowhere but locally it virtually has the force of law.

As a result of this attitude of the oblast leaders toward local newspapers, an absolutely specific type of local newspaper editor has taken shape. Most often they are cautious people who heed their bosses' voice with sympathy. At least that was what the editors were like in our Kaluga Oblast youth newspaper.

I suggest that the 19th all-union conference precisely stipulate the status of party and youth publications, fully restore Leninist norms of the party leadership of the press everywhere, and stipulate the right to criticize any officials. On the economic plane profitable newspapers should become economically accountable organizations with all their rights in questions of forming the staff structure and paying wages.

[Signed] Journalist E. Samoylov, Obninsk, Kaluga Oblast [passage omitted]

Monthly speeches on television analyzing current affairs and prospects in programs like "Problems—Quest—Solutions" would impart great authority to our party leaders—the Politburo members and candidate members.

I also believe that every CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and candidate member should regularly write in the central newspapers and journals close to his work specialty.

The CPSU Central Committee must regularly hear reports from CPSU Central Committee members and candidate members on their personal contribution to the restructuring with the publication of these items in the press.

[Signed] V. Filatov, member of the CPSU and teacher, Magnitogorsk

Official Discusses Challenges to Komsomol

WA18000375 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 May 88 p 2

[Interview with Valeriy Lukov, candidate of philosophical sciences, department head, NITs [Scientific Research Center], Higher Komsomol School, Central Committee of the All-Union Komsomol, by Yu. Sorokin, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent, under the rubric "19th Party Conference: Youth and Society": "I Have Opinions"—boldface and italics as published]

[Text] [Sorokin] Valeriy, today it is often said that the Komsomol in recent years has changed from an organization of youth that operates in the interests of youth into an organization that is over youth.

[Lukov] This change took place considerably earlier—in the thirties. It was specifically then that the Komsomol ceased to be what it was at the time it was conceived and created. This was connected with society's formation of an administrative system based on commands. In this system, the Komsomol apparatus was assigned the role of "drive belt" from the top echelons of government to youth, the role of executor of decisions handed down from above.

The deformation was not too obvious at first but this bureaucratic model of the Komsomol was cemented over the decades. Everything that "flowered" so luxuriantly in the next 20 years was already inherent in it. The growth of the apparatus was excessive: as is known, the bureaucracy makes its own work. There was an absurd (from a practical point of view) division of education into separate spheres (international, military-patriotic, etc.) and the apparatus was organized accordingly. The Komsomol at that time increasingly became a kind of labor exchange, a supplier of labor power for various construction projects, and became more and more remote from the interests of youth.

[Sorokin] It was said at the 20th congress that the Komsomol was "on the verge of a major crisis." Is it legitimate to compare this situation with the crises that had already taken place in the history of youth leagues in socialist countries—with the disintegration of the Hungarian Union of Working Youth in 1956, the Union of Polish Youth in 1957, the Czechoslovak Youth League in 1968 and the new political structures of the youth movement created in these countries?

[Lukov] The social principles and causes are incomparable. Nevertheless, we must carefully heed the history and experience of fraternal youth unions.

We recall that the disintegration of youth leagues in socialist countries was as a rule preceded by their precipitous, artificially accelerated growth. Campaigns to reach the million mark in membership were "successfully" surpassed in an incredibly short time. The race for massiveness here inevitably led to formalism. Performance was measured not in terms of the influence on youth but on the basis of "figures." As a result of the policy of admitting "all comers," it was no longer an organization of like-minded people. Hence a "double morality" effect originated among its members.

We experienced such processes three times: between 1936 and 1949, the Komsomol grew 2.3 fold; from 1949 to 1953—2 fold; from 1971 to 1978—1.4 fold, and from 1936 to 1982 on the whole—more than 10 fold. At the same time, in Poland and Czechoslovakia on the eve of the crisis there was a dramatic reduction in the number of blue-collar Komsomol members. Nor can we boast that our blue-collar workers are eager to join the Komsomol. Recently a member of our staff was unable to conduct a poll of 25 young workers who joined the Komsomol after the congress because there proved to be only 13 such persons in the oblast center.

Today there is much discussion of associations that are independent of the Komsomol. The disintegration of the Hungarian Union of Working Youth also started when the Union of University and Student Societies broke away from it. The disintegration of the Polish Youth Union was prepared when the Association of Polish Students broke away from it in 1950 and the Union of Polish Harcerstwo separated from it in 1956.

[Sorokin] I fear that your remarks may be construed to mean that independent associations are a threat to the Komsomol.

[Lukov] No, that is not what I meant. This is a natural and a democratic process. It seems to me that the time has come for us to modify our views of the youth movement as such.

The "monopoly" to speak in the name of all youth has reached an impasse. This is already clear today. The Komsomol is a unified organization. It is homogeneous in its tasks and status. Demands are uniformly made on all members of the Komsomol. But young people vary. A 27 year old might not always understand an 18 year old. Young people are very changeable. Their social, regional, and ethnic distinctions are clearly manifested. The Komsomol's political platform is uniform: Marxism-Leninism. But who will venture to say that all our young people, starting at the age of 14 years, are convinced Marxists? Philosophical pluralism exists among youth. Only formally is it possible to unite everyone in the Komsomol. And consequently there are more different voluntary organizations—more possibility for young people to express themselves. In what way is this a bad thing? I think the Komsomol must promote this and cooperate with other organizations if they emerge. The Komsomol will then be freed of an enormous number of "directions of work" and will be able to concentrate on the most important.

I think that the existence of organizations that are an alternative to the Komsomol is also entirely admissible. Why do we fear this? An alternative is not the total opposite of the Komsomol. Differences may concern tactics and certain particular problems. This will specifically be socialist pluralism, the plurality of opinions within the framework of the same ideology.

In this regard, it seems to me that it would not be bad in the discussion of future changes in the Regulations of the All-Union Komsomol to incorporate the right of everyone to voluntarily withdraw from the Komsomol. The loss of even a third of the current membership would be better than the ultimate loss of the Komsomol's authority.

Incidentally it seems to me that we should focus attention on the Cuban and Hungarian experience. The Cuban Young Communists League [YCL] operates under the supervision of the Communist Party but is organizationally separate. The status of the YCL—the second organization in the nation after the party—is recorded in the Constitution. The YCL is relatively small and its membership is very strictly screened. There are also other, independent organizations with which the YCL collaborates.

Here is a quotation from the documents of the 11th Congress of the Hungarian Union of Working Youth [HUWY]: "The HUWY is a unified youth political organization but it does not want to be the only youth organization." Another quotation: "The interests of the HUWY demand the creation of a more highly differentiated youth movement." From the regulations of the HUWY: "The primary organization exerts its influence in existing collectives, groups, sections, and societies: supports the aspirations and corresponding objectives of the HUWY."

[Sorokin] The quotations are good. It is unfortunate that many of our Komsomol and party officials are still very apprehensive about informal organizations especially if they call themselves sociopolitical. If they are athletic,

that is alright. But if it studies Marx or still worse Bukharin, it is regarded as a virtual threat to the state's foundations. We are presently eliminating the "image of the enemy" from our newspaper's international pages but the "image of the enemy" is still encountered in publications about our Soviet youth.

[Lukov] What can one say? There is not enough understanding of the fact that if one learns communism from Lenin rather than from Stalin, the participation of the masses in politics does not undermine socialist principles but to the contrary is one of the main features of socialism. What do people understand politics to mean? Today there is a very active ecological movement in which many young people, party members and Komsomol members participate. Is ecology not politics? Does it not directly concern thousands and thousands of people?

There is not enough elementary democratic sophistication. I recently attended a meeting with middle-level Komsomol leaders. They explicitly stated: "Do not create organizations that parallel the Komsomol!" And I thought to myself: What if they don't ask you, but go ahead and create them. What will you do then? Throw them all in the jug? That's "democrats" for you.

There are not enough chronic guarantees and democratic instruments. As is known, the Law on Voluntary Societies is presently being drafted. The draft of the law should probably be submitted for broad discussion. I think that this question is worthy of discussion at a party and all the more so at a possible Komsomol conference.

[Sorokin] If the Komsomol has to operate on a "competitive" basis, will it be able to retain its leading role in the youth movement?

[Lukov] Yes, if it protects the political interests and rights of youth. There are such interests that are common to all young people. They include: the formation of a young person as an individual, as a citizen, as a professional. This has always been proclaimed as one of the main tasks but in fact it has been in tenth place. The housing shortage, uncomfortable *"dormatories"* [obshchagi], inferior education, the low standard of living, low wages—these are the things that concern youth most keenly. There are thousands of problems here on all scales that we are not as yet even aware of. It is not by chance that drug addiction in our country is primarily a youth problem.

The Law on Youth is presently being drafted at the initiative of the 20th congress. This is correct and necessary but it is not enough to adopt good laws—it is also necessary to secure their observance. There is a large number of unutilized possibilities here. The Komsomol is extremely timid in its relations with the Soviets of People's Deputies. It must decisively rid itself of this toothlessness. The Komsomol still does not fully exercise its constitutional right to nominate candidates for deputy. It should nominate energetic, active people; conduct an election campaign; get them elected; and then secure the passage of their decisions in the Soviets through them. Why not create Komsomol groups of deputies, a kind of Komsomol "faction" in the soviets especially since such experience already exists? The submission of requests, voters' mandates, and deputies' reports at the session—these are instruments that should be used. I am speaking not only about local soviets. The USSR Supreme Soviet incorporates a Commission on Youth Affairs. There are few who know when and how many times it has assembled, the kind of questions it has discussed, and what it has decided. Why should the commission not give a public accounting of its activity? Why should the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee not assemble Komsomol members who are deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet and discuss with them its action program or its, if you please, policy in the supreme organ of power?

The Komsomol has a sizable press—a combined printing in excess of 80 million if I do not err. This is a power that can also be used to exert pressure on legislative and executive organs. I have never read a single report of a session of the Supreme Soviet that, for example, calls into question or simply does not make an unequivocal commentary on one or another decision. The Komsomol can and should express its evaluation, its position on youth issues. The 20th congress finally once again included in the Regulations the characterization of the Komsomol as a sociopolitical organization. Let us now commence our political activity.

[Sorokin] It is no secret that relations between party and Komsomol organs are frequently based on the "superior-subordinate" scheme. A Komsomol secretary who opposes his opinion against the opinion of a party secretary, even if the latter is three times wrong, is obviously wrong, is an extremely rare phenomenon. Given such a situation it is hardly possible to speak seriously about the independence of the Komsomol.

[Lukov] The political leadership of the Komsomol is exercised by the party. That is unquestionably the strength of the Komsomol. But administration by mere injunction can hardly be justified. Not "pressure by force" but influence by authority—this is the principle of relations that is more appropriate here. It seems to me that this question should be discussed at the 19th party conference. I think that the 28th party congress could supplement the formulation in the CPSU Regulations stating that "the All-Union Komsomol works under the direction of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The work of local organizations of the All-Union Komsomol is directed and overseen by the corresponding...party organizations." I propose the addition of two points. 1. The All-Union Komsomol works under the political leadership of the party. 2. The All-Union Komsomol is organizationally independent.

[Sorokin] The 20th congress proclaimed a policy of democratization of internal party life. Many good decisions were made: Many rights were transferred from

higher organs to primary organizations; a provision was included in the Regulations requiring the approval of the most important instructions at plenums of the Central Committee after wide discussion in the Komsomol. Democratization of the election procedure: It is now possible, for example, to nominate not one but several candidates. But a year has passed since the day of the congress. It is obviously possible to go farther today. For example, the so-called "nomenklatura" is still in effect. Elections frequently become a fiction because most candidacies have been coordinated beforehand by higher organs.

[Lukov] In my view, the "nomenklatura" should be abolished. It belongs to the administrative system that is based on commands. Or take the selfsame election procedure. Why must it always be uniform everywhere? The following form, for example, strikes me as curious: a primary party organization elects a secretary and he forms his own personal "cabinet"—the Komsomol Committee, i. e., he selects a team of like-minded people. If the Komsomol organization expresses its lack of confidence in its secretary half a year later, the secretary and his "cabinet" goes into "retirement." This is only a particular example. There may be a great multitude of forms. We must try different things and experiment. Today the party is going forward with its democratization program. The Komsomol is following too timidly behind it. It seems to me that the situation should be reversed: the Komsomol can test all manner of democratic procedures because youth is more attracted to the new and because the risk is relatively small in the event of error.

[Sorokin] **How would you relate to the idea of such an experiment: making a youth newspaper not the organ of the Komsomol Obkom but the organ of the oblast Komsomol organization? Today a youth newspaper has virtually no possibility of expressing a position differing from the official position of the apparatus of the Komsomol Committee, and cannot criticize various actions of the obkom.**

[Lukov] I am in favor of the idea. I would like to see KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA and not the Central Committee as the central organ of the Komsomol so that the editorial collegium would be elected by the congress and would report to the congress. In my view, this would only serve to expand glasnost today. It also seems to me that we also need a youth press that is not in any way an organ of the Komsomol. Why, for example, should the Student Council not publish its own newspaper?

[Sorokin] **The final question. I know that your center has conducted a sociological study on the results of perestroyka following the 20th congress.**

[Lukov] At the time of the study, only 5 percent of the respondents acknowledged that perestroyka had commenced in their organizations. The others either totally denied that there was any kind of change or else acknowledged them in very nebulous form "to a certain degree." There is much evidence that there have been no radical changes in the Komsomol a year after the congress. There is little comfort in the fact that a year is a short time. There is no room for delay today.

Economic

Control by Collectives' Councils Urged

PM1306103588 Moscow TRUD in Russian 5 Jun 88 p 2

[Doctor of Economic Sciences Professor V. Perlamutrov article under the rubric "We Are Discussing CPSU Central Committee Theses": "Self-Management: Control From Below"—boldface as published]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th all-union party conference note: "The correct organization of relations between local soviets and labor collective councils is acquiring particular significance." The question, in my view, is a very important one.

The course of restructuring is the course of the democratization of all public life. The democratization of economic management is the key, determining factor in all the complexity and diversity of the ties between the different spheres of society's activity. **The socialist economy cannot fully reveal its potential outside democratic methods of economic management.** And the democratization of other aspects of public life cannot consistently be implemented without radical changes in the production sphere.

We recall that democratic institutions of the emerging bourgeois system came into existence precisely out of the economy's requirements. The inviolability of the merchant's capital and person and the worker's working hands and person, as Engels said, is essential for capitalism. In those places where this prerequisite had appeared earlier, as in Italy at the end of the Middle Ages, capitalism emerged and established itself earlier than in other countries. And, conversely, in the East, where pashas, caliphs and other rulers could not permit anybody to be inviolable, economic development, and therefore everything else, was suspended.

At the same time we should not forget that the capitalist organization of the economy also determines the limits of democratization beyond which this society cannot go without risking its very existence. **Only socialism, only public ownership of the means of production, offers scope to true democracy.** And whereas in the past all kinds of factors—objective and subjective—in the country's life and the world situation prevented the steady manifestation of this basic feature of the socialist economy, in the present conditions of socialist renewal it is precisely democracy that must determine the entire path of economic development.

I will permit myself to digress a little. For a long time we spoke a great deal and often about how it is essential to cultivate a sense of ownership in every worker. But here we forgot that education can only cultivate those things that have **a material basis in life.** But how can this be cultivated if a worker in real life has not been put in the position of an owner, has never taken part in organizing work, and has not taken responsibility for its results? Only the utopians of the past (there were some great people among them) thought that people could be brought to fair, collective labor through appeals and lofty ideals alone. We are not utopians. This is why we are beginning from the basics. When we finally succeed in putting each worker in **the position of the owner** of production—then a **sense of ownership** will emerge.

What paths lead to this? The first step of the present economic reform is the Law on the State Enterprise (Association). Production collectives will not live off the state budget but will switch to a self-financing regime. This will constitute the material base of responsibility for economic results. But that is not all. The main point is that enterprises will also switch to **self-management** on the basis of self-financing. According to the law the entire running of the economy switches from the higher-ranking organization and the administration appointed by it to a **general meeting** (or a conference of representatives) of the working people, and to the **labor collective council** elected by it.

This is a natural change: If **responsibility** for the results of activity is transferred to the labor collective itself, then it is the collective that **makes decisions** on the economic and social questions of its own life. **The administration becomes the collective's executive organ and is completely accountable to it.** Then the leaders are not nominated but are chosen. Moreover, the workers are transformed from "hired hands" into **committed and responsible joint owners of their enterprise.** Of course, it is not easy to implement these changes. Teaching millions of workers to run their enterprises is a task without precedent. This means that attention should be given to it first and foremost.

The enterprise is a large and complex organism. It is essential **also to organize genuine economic accountability [khozraschet] within the plant** so that every worker is a joint owner of production not in words but in reality. The best form of economic accountability, as practice shows, is the contract—of the shop, sector, or team. Unless the worker feels that he is the owner in his primary collective, then he can easily slide into a position of parasitism as regards the enterprise as a whole and society. And it is true to say that the plant is large and the state is huge. Just try figuring out who is adding to the wealth and who is eroding it? It is another matter when the wage of each person will be determined by his labor contribution to the final results of his primary collective. Here parasitism is ruled out...

But let us move on. In conditions of collectives' self-capitalization and self-financing, the position of state management and planning organs is becoming exceptionally important. For many decades, as purely administrative organizations, they managed by "pressure" and command methods. Demanding that administrative organs, as we often do, remove "petty tutelage" from enterprises, without changing ministries' rights and responsibilities, is demanding the impossible. It is now virtually impossible to administer absolutely everything from the center and to plan absolutely everything in detail as happened in the 1930's. What is more, the desire to do so can stifle any economic accountability—the economic relations of partners who manage independently and equally.

That is precisely why **the democratization of the activity of the organs that manage the entire economy** is being put forward as a priority task. **Each worker must, not in words but in reality, be put in the position of joint owner, joint proprietor of the public means of production** not only in his work place and at his enterprise, but also in the country's economy. This is the very essence of a genuinely socialist organization of society. This is also an internal reserve for rationally conducting affairs that does not and cannot exist in any other social structure.

Let us look at history. In the first years after the revolution, the provincial regional economic councils, subordinate to the Supreme Council of the National Economy, were also directly connected with the organs of Soviet power—and acted as economic departments of the local soviets. Soviets of all levels were elected not at people's homes but at workers' meetings at enterprises. And the result was **that the labor collective representatives controlled the industrial management organs through the soviets.** Congresses of the republic's national economic soviets were also regularly convened and determined on a democratic basis both the current and the long-term tasks and methods of resolving basic question of managing the entire state industry. Even in the most difficult year of 1918 two such congresses were held.... The 1930-1932 reforms, which created the economic mechanism for forced industrialization, eliminated the influence exerted on industry by the organs of Soviet power.

Now that we are finally once again raising the problem of democratizing the national economy, the experience of the past can be utilized, on, of course, a new and modern basis. If the administration at the enterprise is accountable to the general assembly of workers or to a conference of their representatives, and also to the labor collective council, if cardinal socioeconomic decisions cannot be taken without their approval, then why does this system not work at the upper management levels? **Perhaps it would be logical to regularly convene all-union, republican, and local congresses of labor collective council representatives?** At their congresses they could discuss

basic socioeconomic issues—drafts for national economic plans, guidelines for social, investment, financial, scientific and technical, and pricing policy for the next plan and for the longer term, and drafts of economic and social legislation.

We will try to imagine this more specifically. For example, the all-union conference of labor collective council representatives listens to reports by Gosplan and the USSR Academy of Sciences on how the country is implementing the reform of the economic mechanism. If the Council of Ministers listened to this report it would be control "from above." But in this case it is the labor collective representatives who are well acquainted with the state of affairs locally and are not responsible for the work of the reporting organization. Indeed, this **control "from below"** can be very effective, in our view.

Or, for example, take construction. How many decisions have we had against the dissipation of capital investments in construction, on concentrating resources and efforts on facilities scheduled for completion. But so far there are no noticeable improvements. Officials from some departments refer to others, they are all ready to turn down numerous construction projects, not their own, but their neighbor's. Neither Gosplan nor Gosstroy, as long-standing practice shows, have been able to resolve the problem. But what if a thorough investigation into the matter is conducted not by those who look after departmental interests but by a congress of workers themselves—**the representatives of the labor collectives?** It couldn't do it? But why not? After all, these are the people who build, who prepare equipment for new plants, who transport, install, and repair it. It is they who know the real state of affairs.

But the most important factor is that the congress of labor collective council representatives should be not an information or discussion association, **but a working one**; that the decisions of the appropriate soviets of people's deputies right up the USSR Supreme Soviet should be made according to its recommendations; and the economic management organs—Gosplan, Gossnab and others—would change from administrative, bureaucratic organs into executive organs of democratically formed congresses of labor collective council representatives.

Economist Shmelev on Party Conference, Reform

AU0906181188 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 31 May 88 p 9

[Report on interview with economist Nikolay Shmelev, head of a department at the United States of America and Canada Institute in Moscow, by Tomislav Milinovic in Moscow; date not given]

[Text] Moscow, May—The news was recently spread in Moscow that two affirmed and qualified fighters for the policy of perestroyka, historian Yuriy Afanasyev and economist Gavriil Popov, were not elected as delegates to the 19th party conference due to be held at the end of June. Is this true, and if it is, is this not a counterstrike by the conservatives?

Our interlocutor Nikolay Petrovich Shmelev—for whom it is difficult to say whether under glasnost he became more famous as an economist or a writer because he has successfully proven himself in both fields—does not see things in this light. "Restructuring's struggle is, thank God, being conducted without blood," he said. "That Afanasyev and Popov were not elected should not be cause for disappointment. The reform has a sufficient number of supporters among party officials, scientists, and others. Then, we have the Central Committee's 'Theses' which mean a new step forward."

Polemics With Gorbachev [subhead]

Doctor of economic science and at present the head of one of the departments at the United States of America and Canada Institute, Shmelev is regarded in the USSR and in the world as a bold scientist and writer who does not mince his words. He surprised many people, and even astonished some, with his now already famous article in NOVYY MIR entitled "Debts and Advance Payments" to the extent that the readers started to carefully follow everything he wrote later. "Did you see what Shmelev said?" was and still is a spontaneous reaction.

In this and subsequent essays written by his lethal and gifted pen, Nikolay Petrovich, in brief, calls for the recognition of economic laws in the economy and for democratic and human relations in socialist society. On one occasion even Mikhail Gorbachev discussed with him whether socialism needs full employment, or whether some unemployment would be welcomed for the sake of job competition. Shmelev was in favor of "competition," Gorbachev was not. The latter view prevailed, and not a single thing happened to the scientist.

For this reason a discussion about the market in a socialist economy is unavoidable.

"We are becoming used to this word but there are still many people who think of the market as a 'flea market.' I think of it as a normal element of the Soviet economy. I was bitter when at the beginning of March, at the same time a draft of a new law on cooperatives (the law was adopted several days ago) came out, the Ministry of Finance passed a decision on the progressive taxation of the members of cooperatives. It looked as if the right hand did not know what the left hand was doing. The first to react was Academician Tikhonov who wrote that this was not possible. We should either develop cooperatives or strangle them at birth," Shmelev said still hoping that the ministry's decree will be withdrawn.

"The members of cooperatives cannot survive without a sensible taxation system. Then, as far as their supply with raw and production materials is concerned, they must be equal in all respects to those of state enterprises. Moreover, society must protect cooperatives from the self-will of local authorities. Village cooperatives should be made completely independent. The state should not interfere in what they sow and plant, and when they sow and plant. They should only tax them realistically and let them continue to work in peace."

Where Can One Find Equality Here... [subhead]

"The climate for cooperatives in towns is unfavorable. The 'street' is hostile to them. In my view, this mistrust is the reflection of envy that is widespread in our society. All this amounts to not wanting anybody to have anything better. However, the time of honest competition between cooperatives and state enterprises will come. For instance, the idea that all the storerooms of state shops are rented to the members of cooperatives already exists. How the process will develop, I do not know," Shmelev explained pointing out that he did not want to speculate.

So how does the Soviet public view the possibility of the creation of classic private enterprises with hired labor?

"They could be efficient but there is no future for them. Not only are officials against them, but they would not be accepted by the 'street' either. To an ordinary Soviet citizen this means exploitation. Even if somebody dares to start a private enterprise, somebody would set it on fire in the night. "Social awareness of equality has been increasing from generation to generation and in some cases has even been expressed as egalitarianism which bears negative consequences." Shmelev refers to the Ministry of Finance again and asks: "Why should the salaries of the members of the cooperatives be a subject of progressive taxation, while the workers, academicians, officers, and all others pay only a limited rate of tax. This second group pays 13 percent tax on their personal income and this is all. There are other instances of inequality. A manual worker would not lift a finger without 250 rubles a month while some good surgeons or top experts work for 170 rubles a month.

"In addition to a sound economic system based on market and planned economic laws, an economic reform requires a large amount of money. Where can it be found? One of the sources of money is citizens' savings which at present stands at 270 billion rubles. How much money the people keep 'under a mattress' only God knows.

"We should have a higher rate of interest to attract the money to banks. Why could the state not sell bonds at, say, 6 rather than 2 percent? Why could enterprises not sell shares under favorable terms? I do not see anything unreasonable in this, even from the ideological point of view. Even now with the present 2 to 3 percent rate of interest some people can be and are on a fixed income. Let them be on a fixed income with six percent too," Shmelev said.

Pure and Expensive [subhead]

One of Nikolay Petrovich's more recent articles also "astonished" the public. This is a fairly long article in which the author expressed a completely personal view about, as he said, a well-known fight against drunkenness and alcoholism. His fundamental premise is as follows: Against this negative phenomena we can only successfully fight with pure and expensive drinks. Let us deal with this "current problem."

"The campaign," he said, "went the wrong way right from the beginning. Some results were achieved: There are fewer drunk people in the streets and fewer are drunk at work. But this is as much as the policing means can achieve. Nobody took into account economic measures. All this gave a tremendous stimulus to the production of 'samogon' (hooch), and the fight against it is hopeless. What was meant was a short period of time, 2 or 3 years but the fight can really be won in the long run, in, say, only 2 or 3 decades."

Drunkenness is a major social evil indeed. The deeply rooted view is that a drinking is a "natural thing."

"If in your free time you sit with a bottle of vodka in your hand and play a game of dominoes with your neighbor, you are a proper Soviet citizen, but if you are working in your shed, you immediately become suspicious. This is why the market should be supplied with good, expensive drinks. Let those interested choose: either half a liter of vodka or a shirt.... At present the fight against illegal production of alcohol and drunkenness has reached an impasse...." Shmelev said. The overall production of alcohol has not been reduced at all because instead of "state" we now have "home" produced alcohol.

Special Construction Ministry Slow To Reorganize

PM1006085688 Moscow IZVESTIYA Russian 31 May 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Own correspondent O. Borodin report under the rubric "Returning to the Subject": "'What If They Find They Can Do Without Us...'"]

[Text] Yakutsk, Moscow—"Our reorganization is based on objective necessity," S. Voytovich, deputy minister of transport construction, told me. "We switched to self-financing on 1 January of this year. And everyone—from the minister to the team leader—realised how cumbersome, how unwieldy our management apparatus us. It immediately became clear that the intermediate level—the specialized main administrations—is unnecessary. Yet how much effort was made formerly to demonstrate the need for them!

"Now, in accordance with the general plan, we are eliminating 14 main administrations and 10 autonomous administrations and departments. We are going over to a two-tier system in practice, not just in words: the ministry, and the production association, enterprise, or organization. In various regions of the country 12 trusts are being abolished, and production and science-and-production associations are being set up in their place. For instance, the main administration for construction of the Baykal-Amur railroad is being turned into a design-industrial-construction association.

"The names of the new structures denote their functions. They are receiving full autonomy, and that is only natural. After all, in various regions of the country today a base has been created for the really autonomous existence of powerful associations incorporating design organizations, the construction industry, and the infrastructure. For instance, in Western Siberia the association for the construction of roads to the oil and gas fields carries out a program amounting to R633 million a year—vast!

"The ministry apparatus has to resolve mainly long-term issues. We have now drawn up a program for greatly improving the quality and efficiency of construction work, incorporating the best experience from our own country and abroad. We are channeling seven new main coordination and technological administrations into the implementation of this program. These administrations are being formed for the time being, until the principles of full economic accountability, self-financing, and self-management become established in the sector. That is, the very structure of the ministry today incorporates a certain flexibility, a capacity to change to suit new tasks..."

The Ministry of Construction in Southern Regions of the country has embarked on a similar path to the Ministry of Transport Construction.

Here, in the central apparatus 3 main administrations and 11 autonomous administrations and departments have been cut, and locally—replacing the main territorial and specialized administrations—large-scale territorial construction associations are being set up, covering, as a rule, all construction operations on the territory of an autonomous republic, kray, or oblast.

Let me remind readers that S. Borisov, manager of the "Severovostokkhimmontazh" trust, in the article "If There Were No Surplus Components" (IZVESTIYA No 324, 1987), also proposed eliminating main administrations and local distribution administrations under the Ministry of Installation and Special Construction Work and setting up regional production associations to incorporate all the installation organizations based in the oblast, kray, or autonomous republic. The author of the article was summoned to Moscow, but that was the end of it. S. Borisov's ideas were then set aside.

Yet S. Borisov's article prompted a great deal of mail. Letters also arrived in Yakutsk for him. "I do not know you, and we are a long way apart both geographically and professionally. You are a mechanical engineer, I am an economist and bookkeeper. But our concerns are the same: how to make the organizations of the USSR Ministry of Installation and Special Construction Work and its republican subunits work better," K. Mekhanoshin writes from Kazakhstan. He encloses in the letter an article of his own, published in the newspaper YUZHNYY KAZAKHSTAN, which also raises the question of organizing oblast or interoblast production associations.

S. Borisov's colleagues also supported him. At a conference in Yakutsk CPSU Obkom all the leaders of Ministry of Installation and Special Construction Work organizations based in the autonomous republic came out unanimously in favor of reorganizing the ministry and creating a regional association. People are confident that by uniting they can more rapidly eliminate the significant lag that exists today both in the construction of production bases and especially in sociocultural facilities. And they are all in favor of conducting the experiment proposed by Borisov: forming an association in Yakutia.

But the trust manager denies them the right to conduct the experiment. Is that not because, in the event of success, the question of the rationality of the ministry's own present structure could arise?

Azerbaijani Company Offers Shares for Sale

PM1306142788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Jun 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Own correspondent R. Talyshinskiy article: "Shares Sale Announced"]

[Text] Azerbaijan SSR—The joint stock company "Stroytel," set up under the Baku Gorispolkom's Glavbakstroy administration, is offering shares for sale.

"Stroytel" has issued securities to the value of R15 million. The price of each security ranges between R100 and R10,000. Shareholders will be guaranteed dividends of 6-10 percent of the share value per year.

"We made this decision because of the serious financial situation of the main administration's enterprises," Farkhad Gasanov, deputy chief of the Glavbakstroy responsible for economic affairs, said. "We began 1988 with a shortfall of R10 million in our own circulating capital, plus our debt to the bank of R14.5 million. And although work in the new conditions has begun quite well—for the first time we have been able to hand over 15,000 square meters of housing in excess of the plan and have cut our debt to the bank by R2 million—the cash shortage binds us hand and foot. In the space of 1 year, for example, we run up some R2 million in interest payments on debts alone.

"It was then that we decided to make use of money that is not in circulation in order to finance construction enterprises, in whose work everyone has an interest.

"We are offering the shares to enterprises, organizations, and private individuals—workers and employees of our construction combines, trusts, and administrations. In this way a construction worker who is a member of the joint stock company has a direct, personal interest in profitable work by the enterprise—his dividends depend on this.

"We feel that the terms are mutually advantageous. How much interest do you get from a savings bank deposit at the moment? Two or three percent, four at most. And that is on condition that your money has been in the account for more than a year. The owner of 'Stroytel' shares will gain a minimum of 6 percent interest. Moreover, we are always prepared to exchange the shares for cash again. The benefit is mutual."

[Talyshinskiy] But where will "Stroytel" find the funds to pay shareholders interest?

[Gasanov] It will be enough to wisely invest the money from the share sales. The joint stock company works like this: "Stroytel" is opening its own account at the USSR Bank of Housing and Municipal Services and Social Development. The money from the share sales will be transferred there. Any construction enterprise in need of funds (and there are a fair number of them) will apply to "Stroytel" with a request for financial assistance. The company board, which will be elected by the shareholders, will consider the request after looking into the financial situation of the applicant, its growth rate, and the quality of its work. If the board reaches the conclusion that the "client" is capable of intelligently using the loan and paying it back, it will give it credit facilities. We hope to reduce and perhaps even completely repay our debts to the state by using the proceeds from the share sales. When the time comes and we no longer have to "patch up" holes in our financial situation, the joint stock company will begin to invest funds in the construction of extra housing and sociocultural projects outside the plan. Then people will benefit twice over—first, the money they have invested in shares will produce the same amount of interest and, second, it will be possible to build projects that would otherwise be a long time in coming.

[Talyshinskiy] So how do future shareholders feel about this idea?

[Gasanov] We are currently holding talks with enterprises and organizations. Trade union committees are displaying an interest, particularly those that have considerable resources but are unable to put them to use. As far as private individuals are concerned, their attitude to this is still one of caution. People recognize the advantage in our proposals but find it hard to believe in the viability of "Stroytel." We have now set up special groups of agitators who are explaining the essence of the innovations actually at enterprises.

"Stroytel" is starting work.

Briefs

Oil Spill on Onega Lake

Moscow June 8 TASS—Correspondent in the city of Vytegra, Vologda Region: Nearly 100 tons of oil products splashed into Lake Onega and were washed ashore, contaminating the waterside for dozens of kilometers, after a motorship and a tanker collided there May 25. Special obstructions were dropped on the water in an attempt to prevent the spread of the fuel oil slick. Held in place by three ships, a chain of these floating barriers initially contained it, but wind and waves eventually reduced to naught all efforts to keep the black blot from reaching the shore. The upper layer of sand on the beaches that has been defiled by fuel oil is being completely removed to dumping places far from the lake. As of today, some 21 kilometers of shores remained to be cleaned up. The work is continuing. The local prosecutor's office is looking into the cause of the collision, which involved the motorship Volgo-Don-5074 and the tanker Volgoneft-129. [Text] [*LD0906060888 Moscow TASS in English 1750 GMT 8 Jun 88*]

Agricultural

Nikonov Speaks to Chelyabinsk Farmers

LD1306220688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 13 Jun 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Viktor Petrovich Nikonov is in Chelyabinsk Oblast. Our special correspondent reports:

Comrade Nikonov has visited Magnitogorsk. He familiarized himself with the workshops at the metallurgical combine, one of the country's largest producers of pig iron, steel, and rolled steel. Talking with Magnitogorsk residents, the CPSU Central Committee secretary showed interest in the population's food supply. At the (Naravchatskiy) Sovkhoz Viktor Petrovich stressed the importance of using effectively in all areas the new forms of organization and renuneration of labor, of setting up necessary conditions for subcontracting collectives to work successfully. He suggested that the issue of setting up agro-industrial combines in the southern Urals area ought to be seriously tackled and that other progressive forms of work in the agro-industrial complex should be put into practice.

In the Magnitogorsk City Party Committee, Comrade Nikonov met with the town's leaders and those of the adjacent agro-industrial rayons. They held a principled conversation on ways to eradicate shortcomings in the working people's food supply as quickly as possible.

Viktor Petrovich Nikonov acquainted himself with the work of the Chelyabinskoye Scientific and Production Association. He held an animated conversation about reserves to be found in hire subcontracting with the workers of the Medvedevo branch of the Timiryazevskoye experimental and production farm. Milkmaids noted that at last they are beginning to feel in charge at work. The feeling of responsibility for work with which one has been entrusted has grown; returns are also increasing.

But here, in the field, a hard-hitting conversation took place with (Aleksandr Vasilyevich Vrazhnov), general director of the Chelyabinskoye Scientific and Production Association. Feed corn was planted here with the crudest violations of technological processes. It is already obvious, at this early stage, that at best only half of the potential harvest yield will be gathered from this field.

[Begin recording] [Nikonov] You are a leading scientist in Chelyabinsk?

[(Vrazhnov)] The farm's director and the chief agronomist are here.

[Nikonov] But you are neither here nor there?

[(Vrazhnov)] That is not the case. I do acknowledge my guilt, I know that here we have....

[Nikonov, interrupting] I know that my guilt is right here, in the field! But yours is a guilt multiplied 100 times. Through hire contracting, you have destroyed the field. It is not my intention to have any heads roll—I simply want to ask where, after all, has your honor as a bread grain grower and your conscience as a scientist gone—where have you hidden it, how deep, and how can we get to it? That's what I want to ask! Or, perhaps you do not think in these moral and ethical terms, is that right? [end recording]

Murakhovskiy, Nikonov at VASKHNIL Meeting

LD1306222188 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 13 Jun 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] The annual general meeting of the V.I. Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences [VASKHNIL] opened today in Moscow. The results of the academy's work over the past year and the election of new members were on the agenda. The plenary session began with a report by Comrade Nikonov, VASKHNIL president, on the scientific concept for developing agroIndustrial complexes in the Non-Chernozem zone. He stressed that the problems of the agro-industrial complex of this zone were topical not just for the region, but for the entire country.

The social and demographic situation has worsened drastically here over the past few decades, as has the growth structure in the countryside. Nor has the land itself been immune from degradation. Hence, despite quite considerable capital investments, the rate of growth of output has declined sharply, although the region does have large natural, biological, and economic potential at its disposal.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Nikonov, what was the past year notable for as far as the academy is concerned?

[Nikonov] Above all, by the fact that the academy actively joined in the processes of the revolutionary restructuring of our society and the economy. Our scientific branches are busy working out new forms of production organization and new economic relations connected with the transition to the economic methods of management and the setting up of cooperative bodies. They are doing this beginning with the grassroots labor collective, the process whereby the kolkhozes and sovkhozes are being brought up to date on the cooperative basis, and the transition to the hire relationships.

[Reporter] One gets the impression from your report today—a very frank and hard-hitting one—that what the Non-Chernozem zone needs today is not development but rescue.

[Nikonov] Yes. The thing is that the Non-Chernozem zone finds itself at a stage, or, I would say, at a brink at which certain negative processes become irreversible. This is a particularly bitter pill, since the Non-Chernozem zone represents the center where our state came into being, where the Soviet power was born, where geniuses of our people grew—geniuses of learning, culture, and literature. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] What do you see as the mainstay, capable of bringing the Non-Chernozem zone back? After all, we are aware of quite a few programs. Are they not yet working in our country?

[Nikonov] You know, I do not think there is any need to search for a magic wand. There is no one, single mainstay—there is a whole system, entailing above all the return of man to the soil, and secondly making him a genuine master, and of course, science. Let us state this outright: Science has been played down in the region. Let me quote figures: 1 percent of the value of the gross agricultural product is spent on the agrarian sciences in the Non-Chernozem zone. Miracles do not happen.

Science must be supported—it will pay not with single rubles, but with hundreds of them for each ruble invested there. [end recording]

Comrade Murakhovskiy and Comrade Orlov, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, are taking part in the work of the meeting.

Early June Crop Development Surveyed

PM1306135588 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 4 Jun 88 p 3

[Agrometeorologist T. Rossinskaya report: "Weather and Crops"]

[Text] In most of the country's European territory warm, rainy weather favored the growth and development of agricultural crops, work in the fields, and the completion of sowing and potato planting. South of a line linking Leningrad, Kostroma, Kazan, and Ufa winter grain crops were at the ear formation stage and were flowering, and north of it stem growth continued. Ear formation on plants occurred 8-10 days earlier than the long-term average. The condition of crops was good or excellent in the Chernozem Zone, and good or satisfactory in the Non-Chernozem Zone.

Winter wheat in the southern regions was 75-95 cm high, and in the rest of the territory 35-60 cm high, and rye was 100-130 cm and 50-85 cm high respectively. Ear formation began on spring barley in the southern Ukraine and in the North Caucasian Region. In the rest of the Ukraine, Moldavia, most of Belorussia, and the west of the Central Chernozem Region early spring grain crops were at the stem growth stage. The condition of the plants is basically good, and there is sufficient moisture in the soil. In the southeastern half of the Central Region, the east of the Central Chernozem Regions, and also a number of rayons in Penza Oblast, the Mordovian ASSR, and the Mari ASSR, where there was little precipitation and winds were hot and dry, the moisture content of early spring crops deteriorated.

In Moldavia, most of the Ukraine, the North Caucasus, and the south of the Rostov Oblast between five and seven leaves have emerged on the corn, and the condition of the crop is good. In individual rayons of Kherson and Crimean Oblasts and parts of Stavropol Kray and the Kabardino-Balkar ASSR flower clusters had begun to form on early sown sunflowers, and leaf formation was under way in the rest of the cultivated territory.

The blossoming of fruit crops has ended almost everywhere in the European part, and young fruit is growing. Blossoming continued only in the northern Central, Volga-Vyatka, and Northwest Regions. In Sverdlovsk, Perm, Chelyabinsk, and Kurgan Oblasts and in parts of Kuybyshev Oblast there were frosts of between minus 1 and minus 3 degrees which in places damaged blossoming fruit and berry crops.

In Moldavia and in most of the Ukraine and the North Caucasus Region the first cut of grasses was under way. Stem growth of clover continued in most of the clover-growing regions, and south of a line linking Vilnius, Pskov, Smolensk, Ivanovo, and Kuybyshev flower clusters started to form. The clover at the stem-growth phase is mostly 15-20 cm high. Flower cluster formation on alfalfa was observed in most of the territory where it is cultivated, while it flowered in Moldavia, in the southern Ukrainian oblasts, and in most of the North Caucasus and southern Volga Regions.

The cool weather in most of the agricultural regions of West Siberia and the northern oblasts of Kazakhstan retarded the growth rate and development of agricultural crops. The average air temperature was 2-3 degrees lower than the long-term average. Grain germination and seedling emergence were noted in early spring grain crops. Heavy rain in most regions of Siberia supplemented the useful moisture reserves in the soil. Crop moisture reserves are basically satisfactory. Potato planting continued. Ears started to form on cereal grasses almost everywhere in Kazakhstan, and in Siberia their stem growth continued.

In Central Asia and in southern Kazakhstan the weather was unstable, and in a number of regions the low temperature hindered cotton growth. A considerable amount of rain fell in the eastern half of the territory. In the Fergana valley downpours, in places with hail, even damaged plants. The fifth true leaf was noted on cotton, and the third leaf on late crops. Bud formation was noted in the southern oblasts. There was sufficient soil moisture everywhere.

Progress in Feed Harvest Reported

PM1406143188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jun 88 Second Edition p1

[Ye. Grigoryev report: "With the Arrival of Summer" under rubric "Harvest-88: Perusing the Operations Report"—first paragraph is report from the USSR State Committee for Statistics]

[Text] USSR State Committee for Statistics Report: Sowing operations are nearing completion all over the country. On kolkhozes and sovkhozes spring crop seeds have been sown over a total area of 127 million hectares. The crops are being tended and the harvesting is under way. Many farms in the republics of Central Asia, the Transcaucasus, and southern Kazakhstan have begun harvesting. Feed procurement has now begun. The first millions of tonnes of hay and haylage have been laid in store.

The hay harvest coincides with the blossoming of summer. The grasses are growing stronger and their bright colors and smell cheer and excite us. However, poetry retreats before the noble prose of peasant work. The aim of this work is not to miss the optimum periods and to harvest the grasses in good time.

More hay has to be laid in store than ever before—110 million tonnes. The volumes of haylage and silage procurements are considerable. In short, there is more than enough to do. Many collectives have begun the work eagerly, without delay. The lease unit under O. Ismailov at the "Moskva" Kolkhoz in Uchkurganskiy Rayon, Namangan Oblast, for example, harvested 70 quintals of first class hay per hectare over an area of 22 hectares of alfalfa at the first cutting. Work is going well in the meadows of many other farms' contract subdivisions. As a result the country's kolkhozes and sovkhozes had procured more haylage and grass meal at the beginning of June than they had at the same time last year.

And the quality of forage, judging by operational statistics, has considerably improved. This is a factor of quite considerable importance, if you consider that last year approximately one-quarter of coarse and succulent feed did not rise above third class in terms of its nutritional qualities. The active ventilation of hay, chemical conservation of silage, and other progressive methods are now being used on a broad scale. Some 12,000 laboratories are responsible for testing the quality of feed. This offers a real opportunity to rapidly correct undesirable deviations from set quality criteria. Every kilogram of hay, haylage, and silage must be high in nutrients.

This aim is also served by the new assessment of forage resources. It is well known that the current practice of forming forage stocks is based on weight indicators. Farms simply procure a certain number of tonnes of hay, haylage, and silage. Leningrad Oblast and some regions of Estonia have decided to take stock of feed on the basis of its dry matter and protein content rather than by weight. The efforts of procurement workers are being assessed accordingly, and they now have a vested interest in securing high quality feed rather than simply making up the requisite volume.

The obstacles that have had to be overcome by livestock owners to procure hay are well known. Now many rural soviets and farm leaders have as they say faced up to stock breeders' needs. But the editorial office is still receiving a considerable number of complaints about difficulties in acquiring feed and mechanizing the hay harvesting process.

Kolkhoz and sovkhoz machine operators are also experiencing difficulties. It cannot be said that they are poorly supplied with equipment. They sometimes have too much of it. But they sometimes lack the kind of equipment needed to harvest grasses. Machine builders churn out ineffectual, unreliable equipment. You have to look high and low for anything highly productive.

The situation with the mechanization of silage and haylage procurement is no better. It would be a sin to complain of a shortage of equipment. Machine operators have some 400,000 silage and feed harvesting combines at their disposal. But they very often break down. Last season, for example, one-third of all power-driven combines stood idle. Of course, this kind of clumsy service from machine builders is not acceptable. Farms are refusing to buy this kind of equipment and are pinning their hopes on the new, all-purpose "Polesye" machine soon becoming available.

It seems that the poor quality of equipment and the shortage of units to produce feed using intensive technologies is one serious reason why more than half of hay is produced in the old, traditional way—spreading.

With farms' transition to self-financing and self-capitalization, they are certainly not indifferent to how equipment pays for itself. By fair means or foul, machine builders are replacing cheap units with more expensive ones, which naturally increases the prime cost of feed. During the 11th 5-Year Plan alone it increased by 15 percent on sovkhozes and by 25 percent on kolkhozes. This has inevitably led to higher prices for farm produce.

Of course, the hay harvest is already in progress. The errors which have built up over the years in machine builders' work will take some time to eliminate. But even now machine builders can do a great deal to ease the work of harvesters and increase farms' feed stocks.

The summer constantly increases peasants' concerns. The massive grain harvest lies ahead. The zealous boss knows that the more hay you can lay in store before the harvest begins, the more calmly and confidently the work in the fields will progress.

Briefs

Book on Gorbachev Talks

The Politicheskaya Literatura Publishing House has published a book entitled "Lease Contracting—The Quickest Way to Sufficiency in Foodstuffs." It comprised of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's speech and other materials from the meeting in the CPSU Central Committee with the workers of lease-contracting collectives of the agro-industrial complex, party leaders, leaders of local soviets and economic bodies, and agricultural specialists on 13 May 1988. The book has been printed by the Order of Lenin Krasnyy Proletariy Printing House. [Text] [*LD0406064588 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 2 Jun 88*]

Scientific

International Crew Continues 'Mir' Experiments

LD1406134688 Moscow TASS in English 1110 GMT 14 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 14 TASS—TASS special correspondent reports from the Mission Control Centre:

A flight of the international crew consisting of Vladimir Titov, Musa Manarov, Anatoliy Solovyov, Viktor Savinykh and Aleksandr Aleksandrov on board the Mir orbital complex is going on. Medico-biological, technological, geophysical and astrophysical experiments are scheduled for today.

A program of medical studies drawn up by Soviet and Bulgarian specialists takes into account the specific character of the space flight and the significance that is attached today to the relationship between man and machine.

The crew conducts a series of experiments codenamed "Potential" which are aimed at studying the characteristic features of the state of the locomotor system of man in conditions of weightlessness. The date obtained by the cosmonauts will help, among other things, to choose optimal regimes of physical training sessions that help to keep the capacity for work of the cosmonauts on a high level.

The "Prognoz" experiment was conducted with the help of the "Pleven-87" equipment for the purpose of assessing the performance of the cosmonauts as operators.

Experiments are conducted every day with the help of the highly sensitive radiometre "Lyulin". They permit to assess the radiological situation along the route of the space complex and in its separate compartments.

Electrophoretic purification of another batch of preparations of the biologically active substances was carried out under a program of biotechnological studies on the "Ruchei" installations.

The cosmonauts conducted the second experiment "Kilment-Rubidium" for the purpose of training the technology of obtaining materials with a high ion conductivity.

Another series of taking space photos and spectrometering Bulgarian territory will be held today when the Mir complex flies over that country.

The "Struktura" experiment will start tonight at the "Kristallizator" installation whose purpose will be the study of the impact of weightlessness to the microstructure of the aluminium-copper alloy with the admixture of iron.

According to results of medical control and reports from the orbit, all the cosmonauts are in good health and feel well.

The flight of the Mir manned space complex goes on normally.

Crew To Land 17 Jun

LD1406183388 Moscow TASS in English 1658 GMT 14 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 14 TASS—The winding up of the Soviet-Bulgarian Space expedition and the landing of the international crew—Anatoliy Solovyev, Viktor Savinykh, and Bulgarian Cosmonaut Aleksandur Aleksandrov—are scheduled for June 17.

Boris Sirotkin, director of the flight planning group, said during a meeting with Soviet and foreign journalists that this is to occur at 13.00 hours, Moscow time, during the first diurnal circuit.

Five cosmonauts are working aboard the orbital complex "Mir". Sirotkin said the workday of the cosmonauts usually begins at nine a.m. with literally every minute put to use.

The Prognoz experiment was carried out with the participation of Bulgarian cosmonaut-researcher Aleksandur Aleksandrov and flight engineer of the visiting expedition Viktor Savinykh. The aim of the experiment is to evaluate the work capacity of a cosmonaut. The research was carried out by means of the Pleven-87 equipment designed by the Bulgarian side. The equipment constitutes a microprocessor system.

The Lyulin experiment which is being carried out by Anatoliy Solovoyev, commander of the international crew, is part of the programme for the comprhensive study of the radiation situation on board the orbital station "Mir". It will make it possible to determine the dynamics of the distribution of the ionising radiation field inside ithe station and along the flight path. A portable sensitive radiometer Lyulin designed by Bulgarian specialists is being used to obtain the necessary data.

Special place is occupied by the Geo-Resource-1 experiments for the remote sensing of the earth, Boris Sirotkin pointed out. They are being performed by means of Bulgarian Spectrum-256 apparatus and the Soviet Kate-140 as well as hand-operated cameras.

The international crew have already carried out nine experiments under the Geo-Resource-1 programme: Thrace, Midia, Forest, Pollution, the Black Sea, Colour, Colour perception, the Balkans, and Models.

The cosmonauts photographed individual areas of the earth's surface, researched into the optical characteristics of the atmosphere, and registered the pollution of the atmosphere with various components.

Kharitonov Outlines International Space Projects

LD1006220288 Moscow TASS in English 1551 GMT 10 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 10 TASS—Space physics, meteorology, communications, biology and medicine, remote sensing of the earth have been the main areas of cooperation of the socialist countries within the "Intercosmos" program framework in 1987. The TASS correspondent was told about this by Gennadiy Kharitonov, deputy chairman of the "Intercosmos" Council under the USSR Academy of Sciences. Kharitonov commented the development of the USSR's international ties in the field of space exploration on the eve of the 31st session of the UN Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, due to open in New York on June 13.

Among the accomplishments of the past year Gennadiy Kharitonov mentioned the results obtained by the "Cosmos-1887" biosatellite. Scientists from socialist countries, as well as from France, the USA and from the European Space Agency had taken part in preparing that mission. Researchers obtained unique data on the impact of the space factors of the flight on biological objects.

Gennadiy Kharitonov referred to international cooperation in the exploitation and development of the Cospas-Sarsat, a satellite system for the search and rescue of vessels and planes in distress. Besides the USSR, the participants in the system include Canada, the USA, France, Bulgaria, Great Britain, Denmark, India, Norway and Sweden. Between September 1982 and December 1987 the system helped to rescue over 1,000 lives.

A number of promising international projects, Gennadiy Kharitonov said, relies on the use of Soviet space craft. On July 7 and 12 of this year two Soviet automatic stations will start off on the way to Phobos, a Mars satellite. These stations have on board the equipment developed, in addition to Soviet scientists, by their colleagues from 12 other countries and from the European Space Agency. The purpose of the mission is to study Phobos, Mars, the Sun and interplanetary space. Also scheduled are launchings of international orbital observatories "Gamma-1" and "Granat" to study X-ray and gamma irradiation of remote objects of the universe. The magnetic field of the earth will be studied by two satellites under the "Interbol" project with the participation of specialists from 12 countries.

The year 1988 will see international manned missions on Soviet space ships. A Soviet-Bulgarian crew started off on June 7. Scheduled for August is a Soviet-Afghan flight, and a Soviet-French crew will fly in November.

Cost-Efficiency of Space Flight Praised

LD1106024488 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 10 Jun 88

[Excerpts] The arrival of yet another international crew, this time including a Bulgarian cosmonaut, aboard the Soviet Mir orbital station has rekindled worldwide interest in the Soviet space program. In Vantage Point, Boris Belitskiy now considers some of its latest achievements and even more fascinating prospects.

[Belitskiy] [Passage omitted] During their 8-day joint work aboard, they are to accomplish an extensive program of joint research which covers such areas as studies of the earth and its atmosphere, space physics and astrophysics, biomedical tests, and materials processing. A somewhat unusual field of studies will be archaeology. This follows the unexpected discovery of an unknown buried city on space pictures of Bulgaria taken by the first joint Soviet-Bulgarian crew 9 years ago.

As you see, this is another hard-working mission with a tightly packed research schedule, and only ignorance of these facts could have prompted an unidentified Western diplomat to have told a UPI correspondent in Moscow the other day that the mission is of dubious value.

In general, with cost-efficiency considerations now advancing to the fore throughout the Soviet economy, it's hard to see how a flight of dubious value would ever have received the go-ahead. The policy of glasnost, or openness, has in fact exposed to public scrutiny the whole balance sheet of space flight economics, previously a highly classified area.

We now know that the serially produced rocket that carried the latest mission into orbit costs a couple of million rubles, the spacecraft between 7 and 8 million, and the training of every cosmonaut about 1 million. But we also know that the economic benefits of space pictures to forestry alone in this country run to some 200 million, and there are benefits that cannot be expressed in terms of any rubles, pounds, or dollars. [passage omitted]

CEMA Preparing Contribution to Phobos Mission

LD1206121488 Moscow TASS in English 1109 GMT 12 Jun 88

[Text] Berlin, 12/06 TASS—The GDR news agency ADN reports: The member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), the economic organization of socialist states, are currently preparing a joint mission which will be a new stage in space research.

When two Soviet spacecraft will be launched in early July to travel to Mars and its moon Phobos, they will carry equipment which is the result of this economic cooperation among the CMEA members, especially in the field of electronics.

A recording system is to take photographs of Phobos from different angles to provide information which might be of use for a possible manned Mars mission at the turn of the century.

Part of the device is an image memory, designed by a GDR space research institute, to store the photographs for the time they cannot be transmitted to earth when the craft temporarily orbit behind the planet.

When the first satellite of the Interkosmos series was launched in October 1969, a space research institute was set up in the GDR. Being one of seven satellite ground stations worldwide, it serves the reception, storage and transmission of data from space experiments. It also transmits the daily weather map for GDR television.

CMEA's space research programme, too, is exclusively aimed at the peaceful uses of space. Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev recently told U.S. President Ronald Reagan during a summit meeting in Moscow, the Soviet Union was as before interested in a joint Soviet-American manned Mars mission at the beginning of the next century, provided its scientific results were used for peaceful purposes.

New Steel for Deep-Sea Bathysphere Developed

PM1306085188 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 26 May 88 p 3

[Unattributed report: "'Marlok'—Guarantee of Reliability"]

[Text] A bathysphere of sophisticated design, built by Finnish engineers for the Soviet Union, has been tested in the Pacific.

Penetrating the deep waters of our oceans is no easier than opening up space. The enormous pressure that prevails at great depths makes special demands on the design of the craft. What material should be chosen? This question was one of the most difficult when the "Lokomo" firm began to develop research bathyspheres.

The apparatus had to be able to withstand a pressure of 600 atmospheres. Moreover, as in space ship design, the job was made more complicated by weight restrictions. If the bathysphere were strong but too heavy, what use would it be? It would not be able to rise to the surface when carrying a huge load, and geologists are primarily interested in collecting samples from the ocean bottom.

After serious metallographic research, two contenders remained: titanium alloy and precipitation-hardening steel. The strength, ductility, and flexibility of both materials were similar, but the steel was of course inferior to the titanium in terms of resistance to corrosion. But when this shortcoming had been eliminated and a coating selected that did not change the properties of the product, the choice was made.

The "Marlok 1650" steel," which is the result of prolonged research, makes it possible to cast the bodywork together with the trap doors, windows, and openings. The need for welding has been obviated—there is no need to explain how greatly this enhances the reliability of the bathysphere! That is because tensions arise in welded seams, entailing a potential threat of fracturing.

And, of course, before embarking on the construction of the bathysphere and making casts weighing more than 10 tonnes, several kilograms of parts were cast from the new steel; these tests made it possible to thoroughly perfect the technology.